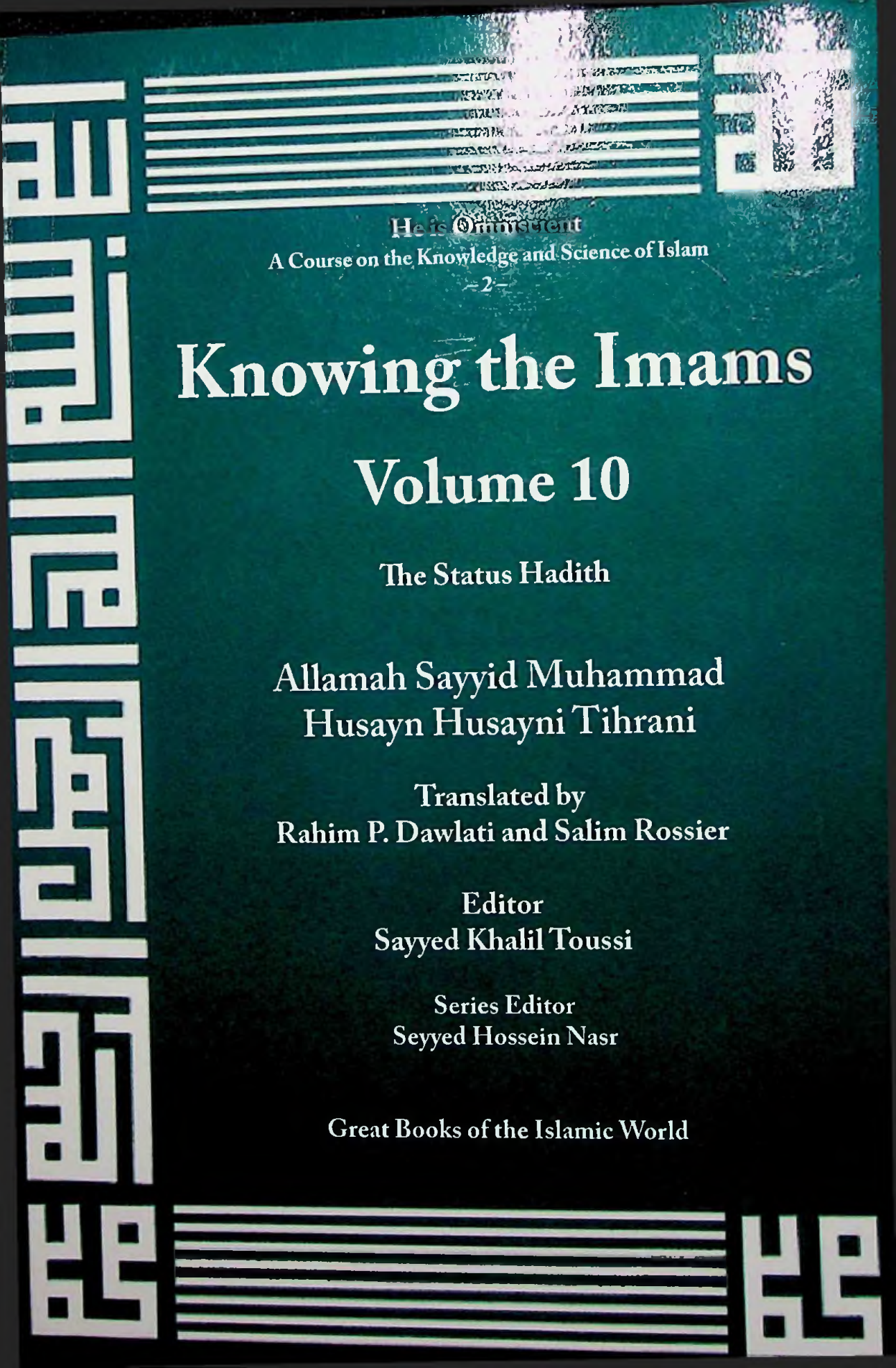

He is Omniscient

A Course on the Knowledge and Science of Islam

– 2 –

Knowing the Imams

Volume 10

The Status Hadith

Allamah Sayyid Muhammad
Husayn Husayni Tihrani

Translated by
Rahim P. Dawlati and Salim Rossier

Editor
Sayyed Khalil Toussi

Series Editor
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ʿAllāmah Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Ṭihrānī

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Note: While it is common in Persian or Arabic to place blessings on the Prophet or the Imams (you may find an "as," "s" or "pbh" or something similar after the names of the Imams), it is not common practice in an English text. Readers should just say the phrase of blessings in their heart when they see reference to the Prophet or Imams.

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[God] is the Omniscient

A Course on the Knowledge and Science of Islam

Volume 10
of
Knowing the Imams
(The Status Hadith)
Lessons 136–41

Comprising

1—The Status Hadith:

انت مِنّي بِمنزِلةِ هارون مِن موسي، اِلّا انّه لا نبيّ بعدِي

"You are to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me."

2—The instances and occasions on which the Prophet uttered the Status Hadith to Ali

3—Other References to the Status Hadith, and the manner in which Imam Ali resembled Aaron

Subject headings
The tenth volume of *Knowing the Imams* (the Status Hadith)

The most detailed discussion on the various chains and versions of the Status Hadith

انت مِنّي بِمنزلةِ هارون مِن موسي، إلّا انّه لا نبيّ بعدِي

("You are to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me") in both Shi'a and Sunni books and an explanation of the fourteen occasions on which the Prophet said the Status Hadith to Ali:

1—Ali's position as aide and successor was secured from the very outset of the Prophetic Mission when the Prophet invited him
2—Shi'a and Sunni hadiths concerning the Warning Verse and the Kinsfolk Hadith
3—Sunni Scholars' alteration of Ali's position on the day of the Kinsfolk Hadith
4—When rulers innovate something in the nation, it gradually becomes a tradition
5—Objections to and attempts to refute the Status Hadith
6—The story of Ziyād Ibn Sumayyah, from serving as Imam Ali's governor-general of Persia, to boasting about being the illegitimate son of Abū Sufyān
7—The tragedy that befell Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' after the passing of the Prophet
8—Why Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, in spite of his illustrious precedents in the history of Islam, and relating the virtues and status of Imam Ali, refused allegiance to him
9—The sermons delivered by Imam Ali after the passing of the Prophet
10—Overview of the situation in Medina towards the end of the Prophet's lifetime, the Battle of Tabūk, and Imam Ali's succession
11—God's apparent censure of His Prophet in the Qur'an is not real censure; the Prophet is still infallible
12—Abū Dharr Ghifārī's statement
13—Omar's wrongful objection to the Prophet
14—The hypocrites twice attempt to take the Prophet's life—on the way back from the Battle of Tabūk, and after returning from Ghadīr Khumm
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Lessons One Hundred Thirty-Six to One Hundred Forty-One

The Status Hadith

أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي

"You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-SIX TO ONE HUNDRED FORTY-ONE

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

Blessing upon Muhammad and his infallible Household, and God's curse on his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! There is no power or strength except through Lofty, Glorious God.

Wise God says in His Glorious Book:

اذْهَبْ إِلَىٰ فِرْعَوْنَ إِنَّهُ طَغَىٰ قَالَ رَبِّ اشْرَحْ لِي صَدْرِي وَيَسِّرْ لِي أَمْرِي. وَاحْلُلْ عُقْدَةً مِّن لِّسَانِي. يَفْقَهُوا قَوْلِي. وَاجْعَل لِّي وَزِيرًا مِّنْ أَهْلِي. هَارُونَ أَخِي. اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي. وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي. كَيْ نُسَبِّحَكَ كَثِيرًا. وَنَذْكُرَكَ كَثِيرًا. إِنَّكَ كُنتَ بِنَا بَصِيرًا. قَالَ قَدْ أُوتِيتَ سُؤْلَكَ يَا مُوسَىٰ.

Go to Pharaoh; surely he has transgressed. [Moses] said, "Lord! Broaden my chest for me! And ease my task for me, and loosen the knot from my tongue [so that] they may understand what I say. And appoint for me an aide from my family—Aaron, my brother. Strengthen my back through him and make him share my task that we may glorify You much and remember You oft. Surely You are ever Seeing us." He said: "You have been granted your request, Moses" (20:24–36).

Moses's Request from God That His Brother Aaron Be Appointed His Aide and Successor

These blessed verses are about Moses and his brother, Aaron, and the request Moses made of God, the Honorable and Exalted, for His assistance in propagating his prophethood, keeping the Divine affair entrusted to him safe, rising against the disbelieving tribes: Pharaoh the transgressor, his minister, Hāmān, the other transgressors at his service, and the whole nation with their personal desires and inclinations.

What Moses asked God for was to let his brother Aaron share his burden as prophet and messenger, and appoint him as a prophet and messenger, so that they could travel that road together, both of them receiving revelation from God and helping each other preach the message. Moses held the position of prophet and supreme chief of the Israelites and the tribes. He was also tasked with guiding Pharaoh and the Egyptians. His brother Aaron held the position of prophet

and aide. It was delegated to him to aid his brother in seeing to the affairs of the nation.

To summarize, together they wanted, step by step and hand in hand, to receive revelation from God, and then, with one of them as emir and the other as his minister, to fulfill their duties: to praise God much and proclaim Him free of the flaws of dependence, need of the world of multiplicity, seeking help from anything, and having any personal interest in anything, and to remember God oft, because He is All-Aware of their intentions and the way they were heading on.

Moses was addressed by God, the Exalted: "Your prayer has been answered; now We appoint your brother as your partner to help you in your prophethood. We appointed him as your aide and minister in the matter of your leadership and governance! Now, go to Pharaoh the transgressor, invite him to the pure religion of Monotheism, and travel the right and just road!"

And in the Holy Qur'an, God clearly explains His appointing Aaron as minister to his brother, Moses:

وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا مُوسَى الْكِتَابَ وَجَعَلْنَا مَعَهُ أَخَاهُ هَارُونَ وَزِيراً.

...and certainly We gave Moses the Book and We appointed with him his brother Aaron as an aide (25:35).

Just as Moses turned to and prayed to God to appoint Aaron as his deputy, and God answered his prayer by making Moses's brother Aaron a prophet, deputy, and aide, so too we find that the noblest Messenger turned to God, praying to Him to appoint Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as deputy. God answered his prayer by making Ali his deputy, aide, successor, executor, and brother.[1]

Sulaym Ibn Qays relates from Miqdād Ibn al-Aswad his answer to a question Sulaym had asked him about Ali:

> We were traveling with God's Messenger before he commanded his wives [to wear] the hijab. Ali was serving God's Messenger. He had no other servant... He eventually said: "God's Messenger would stand and pray [in the middle of the night]."
>
> Then, one night [acute] fever took hold of Ali, and God's Messenger stayed awake with him. He would pass the night praying at one time and at another time going to comfort Ali and watch him.

The Prophet's Prayer for Imam Ali to Be Cured

> Dawn came, and when God's Messenger led his companions in dawn prayer, he implored:

اللّٰهُمَّ اشْفِ عَلِيّاً وَعَافِهِ فَإِنَّهُ قَدْ أَسْهَرَنِي مِمَّا بِهِ مِنَ الْوَجَعِ.

"O God! Cure Ali and heal him because his pain has kept me awake."

After God's Messenger's prayer, Ali was cured as if freed from the hobbling cord of the illness! God's Messenger then said: "Rejoice, my brother!" He said that, and all the companions around him could hear.

So Ali answered: "May God give you glad tidings, God's Messenger, and may He make me your sacrifice!"

قَالَ: إِنِّي لَمْ أَسْأَلِ اللهَ شَيْئاً إِلَّا أَعْطَانِيهِ، وَلَمْ أَسْأَلْ لِنَفْسِي شَيْئاً إِلَّا سَأَلْتُ لَكَ مِثْلَهُ، إِنِّي دَعَوْتُ اللهَ أَنْ يُؤَاخِيَ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكَ فَفَعَلَ.

وَسَأَلْتُهُ إِذْ أَلْبَسَنِي ثَوْبَ النُّبُوَّةِ وَالرِّسَالَةِ أَنْ يُلْبِسَكَ ثَوْبَ الْوَصِيَّةِ وَالشَّجَاعَةِ، فَفَعَلَ. وَسَأَلْتُهُ أَنْ يَجْعَلَكَ وَصِيِّي، وَوَارِثِي، وَخَازِنَ عِلْمِي، فَفَعَلَ.

وَسَأَلْتُهُ أَنْ يَجْعَلَكَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى وَأَنْ يَشُدَّ بِكَ أَزْرِي، وَيُشْرِكَكَ فِي أَمْرِي، فَفَعَلَ، إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي، فَرَضِيتُ... الحديث.[2]

[The Prophet] said:

> I have not asked God for anything without His granting it to me! And I have not asked Him for anything for myself the like of which I have not asked for you.
>
> I asked God to make me and you brothers, and He did.
>
> And I asked Him to dress me in the cloak of prophethood and messengerhood, and to dress you in the cloak of executorship and courage, and He did.
>
> And I asked Him to make you my executor, my heir, and the treasurer of my knowledge, and He did.
>
> And I asked Him to make you to me as Aaron was to Moses, to strengthen my back with you, and let you share my mandate, and He did, except that there is no prophet after me! And, I am satisfied...

Ḥākim Ḥaskānī relates via his unbroken chain from Anas Ibn Mālik that the noblest Prophet sent an alms collector to a tribe, but they attacked the alms collector and killed him. Thereafter, the news of that reached the Prophet, so [Imam Ali] slew the murderers and

took their offspring prisoner. News of that then reached the Prophet, and he was happy. Thereafter, when Ali reached the edge of Medina, God's Messenger received him, embraced him, kissed him between the eyes, and said:

بِأَبِي أَنْتَ وَأُمِّي مَنْ شَدَّ اللهُ عَضُدِي بِهِ كَمَا شَدَّ عَضُدَ مُوسَى بِهَارُون.

"May my father and mother be made the sacrifice of him through whom God strengthened my arm, just as He strengthened Moses's arm through Aaron."[3]

These words are from the Qur'an where God says to Moses: *We will strengthen your arm through your brother* (28:35).

ʿAllāmah Amīnī relates from *al-Manāqib* by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah*, vol. 2, p. 163, from Asmā' bint ʿUmays, [who] said:

سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم يَقُولُ: اللّٰهُمَّ إِنِّي أَقُولُ كَمَا قَالَ أَخِي مُوسَى: اللّٰهُمَّ اجْعَلْ لِي وَزِيراً مِنْ أَهْلِي: أَخِي عَلِيّاً اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي، وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي، كَيْ نُسَبِّحَكَ كَثِيراً وَنَذْكُرَكَ كَثِيراً، إِنَّكَ كُنْتَ بِنَا بَصِيراً.

"I heard God's Messenger say: 'O God! I surely say as my brother Moses said: "O God, appoint an aide for me from my family, my brother, Ali. Strengthen my back with him, and let him share my mandate, so that we can praise much and remember You often; surely You are ever Seeing us!"'"

A hadith with a similar meaning, excluding Imam Ali from prophethood, but explaining to us that no one surpasses him, and that he has all attributes of perfection and God-given statuses, is related by Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī via his unbroken chain from Muʿādh Ibn Jabal saying that:

قَالَ النَّبِي صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم: يَا عَلِيُّ أَخْصِمُكَ بِالنُّبُوَّةِ، وَلَا نُبُوَّةَ بَعْدِي، وَتُخْصِمُ النَّاسَ بِسَبْعٍ، وَلَا يُحَاجُّكَ فِيهَا أَحَدٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ،
أَنْتَ أَوَّلُهُمْ إِيمَاناً بِاللهِ، وَأَوْفَاهُمْ بِعَهْدِ اللهِ، وَأَقْوَمُهُمْ بِأَمْرِ اللهِ، وَأَقْسَمُهُمْ بِالسَّوِيَّةِ،
وَأَعْدَلُهُمْ فِي الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَأَبْصَرُهُمْ بِالْقَضِيَّةِ، وَأَعْظَمُهُمْ عِنْدَ اللهِ مَزِيَّةً.[4]

The Prophet said:

> O Ali, I prevail over you through the prophethood, that is, there being no prophet after me! And you prevail over everybody through seven [things]! No one from Quraysh can dispute them

> with you! You were the first of them to believe in God, the most loyal of them to God's covenant, the most correct among them with God's Commandment, the fairest among them at distributing, most just out of them among the flock, most perspicacious of them in judgment, and the greatest among them in distinction in God's sight!

Here, we see that God's Messenger only explicitly excludes Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib from prophethood, and does consider him to be superior to everything else in existence, set apart through all perfections except for prophethood. Therefore, Imam Ali shares all the Prophet's other attributes and statuses, because the meaning of

أوفاهم بعهد الله وأقومهم بأمر الله وأبصرهم بالقضية وأعدلهم في الرعية وأقسمهم بالسوية وأعظمهم عند الله مزية

is based on his perfection, the expansiveness of his soul's existence, and his comprising Divine light, given to him by his Lord, Who elevated him to this status and position.

Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī also relates via his other unbroken chain from Saʿīd ibn Musayyib, from Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, [who] said:

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم لِعَلِيٍّ - وَضَرَبَ بَيْنَ كَتِفَيْهِ - يَا عَلِيُّ، لَكَ سَبْعُ خِصَالٍ لَا يُحَاجُّكَ فِيهِ أَحَدٌ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ: أَنْتَ أَوَّلُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِاللهِ إِيمَاناً، وَأَوْفَاهُمْ بِعَهْدِ اللهِ، وَأَقْوَمُهُمْ بِأَمْرِ اللهِ، وَأَرْأَفُهُمْ بِالرَّعِيَّةِ، وَأَقْسَمُهُمْ بِالسَّوِيَّةِ وَأَعْلَمُهُمْ بِالْقَضِيَّةِ، وَأَعْظَمُهُمْ مَزِيَّةً يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ.[5]

God's Messenger said to Ali, patting him between his shoulders:

> O Ali! You have seven attributes over which no one can dispute with you on the Day of Resurrection! You were the first of the believers to believe in God, the most loyal of them to God's covenant, the most correct among them in God's Commandment, the kindest among them to the flock, the fairest among them in distribution, the most knowledgeable among them in judgment, and the most distinguished of them on the Day of Resurrection.

Imam Ali Was Aide and Successor from the Beginning of God's Messenger's Prophethood

We see in this hadith that the Prophet considered Imam Ali to be superior not only to Quraysh, but also to all other people on the Day of

Resurrection; as he says [in so many words] at the end: Your value and distinction are greater than everyone else's on the Day of Resurrection. God's Messenger said these words while patting Ali on the back. All this was on the basis of the Prophet and Ali having been as one in spirit and soul, from the very beginning, when the Prophet was commanded to invite his clan and tribe, before he was commanded to invite the whole nation openly, and before the revelation of the verse

فَاصْدَعْ بِمَا تُؤْمَرُ وَأَعْرِضْ عَنِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ، إِنَّا كَفَيْنَاكَ الْمُسْتَهْزِئِينَ.

So, proclaim what you are commanded to, and turn away from the polytheists; surely We will defend you from the scoffers (15:94–95).

When the Noble Verse

وانذر عشيرتك الاقربين

And warn your nearest relations (26:214) was revealed, the Prophet, by God's command, invited the Hāshimite elders and said to Ali: "Cook a leg of mutton, prepare a jug of yoghurt, and invite forty of the sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib." That was as many as there were at that time!

Ali invited all the sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. They all satisfied their hunger from that food and quenched their thirst from that jug of yoghurt. The noblest Prophet addressed them, saying: "O tribe! I have been sent as a prophet to you and to all the Arabs and all the people! This is a heavy burden and a great task, so which of you is ready to help me in the matter of this message, to assist me with it? He [will be] my brother, my executor, my successor in my nation, and the Master of every believer after me." No one answered, so Ali stood up and said: "I [am], God's Messenger."

The Messenger sat Ali—who had not yet attained majority—back down and repeated his invitation, saying:

أَيُّكُمْ يُبَايِعُنِي عَلَى أَنْ يَكُونَ أَخِي وَصَاحِبِي وَوَارِثِي وَوَلِيُّكُمْ بَعْدِي.

"Which of you pledges allegiance to me to be my brother, my companion, my heir, and your Master after me?"

No one answered, so Ali stood up and said: "I [do], God's Messenger."

The Messenger said: "Sit down," and then repeated his invitation a third time, saying:

أَيُّكُمْ يَتَقَدَّبُ أَنْ يَكُونَ أَخِي، وَوَزِيرِي، وَوَصِيِّي، وَخَلِيفَتِي فِي أُمَّتِي، وَوَلِيُّ كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ بَعْدِي؟!

"Which of you is ready to be my brother, my aide, my executor, my successor in the nation, and the Master of every believer after me?"

No one answered him. Ali stood up and said: "I [am], God's Messenger."

The Prophet clasped Ali's head to his chest, spat saliva from his mouth into Ali's mouth, and said: "O God, fill his inside with knowledge, understanding, and wisdom."

And he stated:[6] "This is indeed my brother, my executor, and my successor among you, so listen to him and obey him!"

He then said to his uncle, Abū Ṭālib: "O Abū Ṭālib! Listen now to your son, and obey, because God has made him to his Prophet as Aaron was to Moses."

In summary, clearly the Prophet arranged this gathering to appoint an assistant, aide, brother, and sharer of the trials, tests, and difficulties, and of the weight of the burden of the prophethood, and of communicating the message within his lifetime, and to defend the Divine revelation, protect God's religion, and be the Imam of the nation after his death.

The Prophet's Prophethood and Ali's Ministry Go Hand in Hand

Just like Moses, the Prophet felt alone in propagating the Divine word, and needed a brother like Moses's Aaron to help him bear the burden of the prophethood, to be his partner, and to stand against his enemies as Aaron did against Pharaoh. The Prophet felt isolated, with so many difficulties and responsibilities, so he announced that he needed such a brother and helper to assist him in the way of God, to carry the message and communicate it to the inhabitants of the world, the idolaters and the unbelievers, and similarly, in the ideological and physical struggle against opponents, hypocrites, and pursuers of worldly gain who have always been a barrier to prophets' achieving their goals. He announced that he wanted a successor, aide, assistant, helper, and brother to take his hand in this mandate and share the delivery of the message with him, and be his protector, aide, and brother in the various problems, calamities, tests, and hindrances by the aggressors and transgressors, and the struggle with the tyrants and oppressors and the eradication of the brazen and the evildoers, and to deliver the call of Monotheism to the ears of those deemed weak, the prevailed upon, prisoners of the commanding self, and the despot of the time. [He wanted] someone to accompany him step by step, in good and bad times, night and day, in peace and war, to bear the burden of the Caliphate, Imamate, and viziership the way he bore the burden of the message, to be with him at all way-stations and stopping places on the mental and spiritual journey.

Ali was assigned by God as Imam, Guardian, successor, heir, and brother. So, God's Messenger's prophethood is inseparable from Ali's Guardianship, and right from the beginning, Islam has been established upon two bases: the prophethood and the Imamate. The roof was built on these two pillars of the religion; if one pillar is taken away, it will collapse, crack, and fragment, and nothing but its name will remain.

In that gathering of his relatives and tribe, the Prophet did not just invite them to accept Islam, because accepting Islam per se was not onerous for many of them, such as Ḥamzah, who embraced Islam, becoming one of the earliest Muslims. Abū Ṭālib became a Muslim in secret, and provided so much assistance to the Prophet that he called the year in which Abū Ṭālib and Khadījah died the year of grief. ʿAbbās also embraced Islam.

Rather, the Prophet's invitation to that gathering was to find an aide, helper, successor, and executor to all the Islamic nation's affairs. As it was too hard to accept, and indeed back-breaking, everyone else remained silent, and no one else at the gathering accepted it.

We discussed the Warning (*indhār*) Verse and the Relations (*ʿashīrah*) Hadith in detail in vol. 1, lesson five of this series, *Knowing the Imams*. We presented strong and authentic sources for this hadith, and proved that the words

وخليفتي فيكم

"and my successor among you"—which are so difficult for Sunnis to accept—do indeed appear in the hadith.

We shall now refer to other passages from some other references that summarize the Relations Hadith.

Sulaym's Hadiths That Refer to the Relations Hadith and the Warning Verse

Sulaym Ibn Qays relates a discussion that took place between Muʿāwiyah and Qays Ibn Saʿd Ibn ʿUbādah, on Muʿāwiyah's *ḥajj* journey and arrival in Medina after the martyrdom of the Master of the Faithful and after either Imam Hasan Mujtabā's peace treaty or martyrdom. In that discussion, Qays Ibn Saʿd stands up to Muʿāwiyah and proves his wrongfulness and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's, the Master of the Faithful's, rightfulness. He condemns Muʿāwiyah. Sulaym says that some of what he said to Muʿāwiyah was the following:

God sent Muhammad as a mercy for all worlds, and He sent him for all people, for *jinn* and men, for red-skinned, black, and white. He chose him for His prophecy and conferred the message upon him.

The first to accept him and believe in him was his cousin, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

And his paternal uncle Abū Ṭālib defended and protected him, keeping dangers away from him, and took guarding and preserving him seriously, intervening between disbelieving Quraysh and their stopping him, harming him, and preventing him from inviting people to Islam. He told him to deliver his Lord's message.

The Prophet remained protected from Quraysh's harm and harassment until his paternal uncle, Abū Ṭālib, passed away. He told his son, Ali, to assist the Prophet, so he did assist and aid him, and risked his own life in every difficulty, every straitness, and every fear. God conferred this position on Ali out of all Quraysh, and singled him out for honor, out of all the Arabs and non-Arabs.

God's Messenger gathered together all the sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, including Abū Ṭālib and Abū Lahab. At that time, there were forty of them. God's Messenger gathered them together, and Ali waited on them, and God's Messenger was under the protection of his paternal uncle, Abū Ṭālib.

فَقَالَ: أَيُّكُمْ يَتَقَدَّبُ أَنْ يَكُونَ أَخِي، وَوَزِيرِي، وَوَصِيِّي، وَخَلِيفَتِي فِي أُمَّتِي، وَوَلِيُّ كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ بَعْدِي؟! فَسَكَتَ الْقَوْمُ حَتَّى أَعَادَهَا ثَلَاثاً. فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: أَنَا يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْكَ، فَوَضَعَ رَأْسَهُ فِي حِجْرِهِ وَتَفَلَ فِي فِيهِ وَقَالَ: اللَّهُمَّ امْلَأْ جَوْفَهُ عِلْماً وَفَهْماً وَحُكْماً. ثُمَّ قَالَ لِأَبِي طَالِبٍ: يَا أَبَا طَالِبٍ اسْمَعِ الْآنَ لِابْنِكَ وَأَطِعْ، فَقَدْ جَعَلَهُ اللهُ مِنْ نَبِيِّهِ بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى. الحديث.[7]

He then asked: "Which of you is ready to be my brother, my aide, my executor, and my successor in my nation, and the master of every believer after me?!" But everyone remained silent, so he repeated it three times.

So Ali said: "I [am], God's Messenger!"

He then put his head on his lap and spat in his mouth. He said: "O God, fill his inside with knowledge, understanding, and wisdom." He then said to Abū Ṭālib: "O, Abū Ṭālib! Listen to your son now and obey him, because God has made him to His Prophet as Aaron was to Moses..."

Ghāyat al-Marām says on the authority of Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbbās Ibn Māhyār in *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān fimā Nazala fī Ahl al-Bayt* (*Commentary on the Qurʾan Regarding That Which Was Revealed about the Household*) via his unbroken chain from Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Ibn Abī Rāfiᶜ, God's Messenger's servant, from his father, from his grandfather Abū Rāfiᶜ,[8] [who] said:

> God's Messenger gathered together all the sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib on the mountain trail, and there were forty sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib, God's Messenger's grandfather. He cooked a leg of mutton for them, made broth out of the bread for them, poured sauce on it, and put that *tharīd*[9] and meat in front of them. They all started eating until they had no room.
>
> And then he served them a single jug of water, and they all drank from it and quenched their thirst. Abū Lahab said:
>
> > By God, one of us eats an entire [ten-portion] bowlful and it hardly satisfies him, and drinks a whole jug, but it does not quench his thirst! However, this son of Abī Kabshah (a nickname Abū Lahab had given the Prophet) has invited us, and we have gathered over a single leg of mutton and a single jug of yoghurt, and we have satisfied our hunger and quenched our thirst! Surely this is manifest sorcery!
>
> God's Messenger then called them and said:
>
> > Blessed and Exalted God has enjoined me by saying:
> >
> > وانذر عشیرتك الاقربین
> >
> > "*And warn your nearest relations* (26:214) and your chosen band." And you are my chosen band and nearest relations! And surely God has never sent a prophet without appointing for him a brother, assistant, heir, and executor from among his kinsfolk:
> >
> > فَأَيُّكُمْ يَا قَوْمِ يَا بَنِي أَنَّهُ أَخِي وَوَزِيرِي، وَوَارِثِي دُونَ أَهْلِي، وَوَصِيِّي وَخَلِيفَتِي فِي أَهْلِي، وَيَكُونُ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، غَيْرَ أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي؟!
> >
> > So now, which one of you will stand up and pledge allegiance to me to be my brother, my assistant, and my heir instead of my other family, and my executor and successor among my people, and to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?
>
> The gathering all remained silent.

The Prophet stated: "By God, one of you will stand; otherwise, someone else will, and then you will be regret it."

Abū Rāfiᶜ says:

Then Ali, the Master of the Faithful, stood up, with everyone watching him, and pledged allegiance, responding to his call.

So the Prophet said: "O Ali, come closer to me!" Ali moved closer to him. [The Prophet] said: "Open your mouth!" Ali did so. Then the Prophet spat some of his saliva into Ali's mouth; and spat [from] his mouth between [Ali's] shoulders and pectorals.

Abū Lahab told the Prophet: "What an evil gift you have given to your cousin, because he came to you, and you filled his mouth with spit!"[10]

So the Prophet replied: "Rather I have filled him with knowledge, wisdom (*ḥukman*), and understanding (*wa fiqhan*)."[11]

Ḥākim Ḥaskānī's Traditions Concerning the Relations Hadith and the Warning Verse

Ḥākim Ḥaskānī relates from Abū al-Qāsim Qarashī, via his unbroken chain from ᶜAbdullāh Ibn ᶜAbbās, from Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. He said:

When this verse:

وانذر عشيرتك الاقربين

And warn your nearest relations (26:214) was revealed to God's Messenger, God's Messenger called me and said:

> O Ali, God has commanded: *And warn your nearest relations*. However, I am uneasy about it, and I have realized that no matter what I order them with regard to this affair, I will see what I hate from them!
>
> So I kept quiet until Gabriel came to me and said: "O Muhammad! If you do not carry out what you are commanded to, your Lord will punish you; so do what seems proper to you."
>
> O Ali, prepare for us a *ṣāᶜ*[12] of food, make a leg of mutton in it for me, and pour us a bowl of yoghurt. Then gather together the sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib for me so that I can speak to them, and deliver to them what I have been commanded to.

He relates the hadith up to where he said:

فَقَالَ: يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ! إِنِّي وَاللهِ مَا أَعْلَمُ بِأَحَدٍ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ جَاءَ قَوْمَهُ بِأَفْضَلَ مِمَّا جِئْتُكُمْ بِهِ! إِنِّي قَدْ جِئْتُكُمْ بِأَمْرِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ، وَقَدْ أَمَرَنِي اللهُ أَنْ أَدْعُوَكُمْ إِلَيْهِ.

Then, he said:

> O, sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! By God, I surely do not know any of the Arabs who has brought his people anything better than what I have brought you. Surely I have brought you a mandate for this world and the Hereafter. And God has commanded me to invite you to it!
>
> "فَأَيُّكُمْ يُوَازِرُنِي عَلَى أَمْرِي هَذَا، عَلَى أَنْ يَكُونَ أَخِي وَوَصِيِّي وَوَلِيِّي وَخَلِيفَتِي فِيكُمْ؟"
>
> Now, which one of you will help me in this affair, by being my brother, executor, successor, and Caliph among you?

All the people flinched from it.

Ali says: "Although I was the youngest of them, the hottest-eyed out of them, the biggest-bellied of them, and the thinnest-shanked out of them,[13] I said: "I will, God's Prophet! I will be your helper in it!"

Those people then stood up, laughing, and saying to Abū Ṭālib: "He has commanded you to listen to and obey Ali!"[14]

Ḥākim Ḥaskānī also narrates from Ibn Fanjawayh, via his unbroken chain from Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, [who] said:

When the verse:

وانذر عشيرتك الاقربين

And warn your nearest relations (26:214) was revealed, God's Messenger gathered together the sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib... [Barāʾ] tells the story...[15]:

قَالَ: يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ! إِنِّي أَنَا النَّذِيرُ إِلَيْكُمْ مِنَ اللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَالْبَشِيرُ لِمَا يَجِيءُ بِهِ أَحَدٌ!
جِئْتُكُمْ بِالدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ، فَأَسْلِمُوا وَأَطِيعُونِي تَهْتَدُوا!
وَمَنْ يُؤَاخِينِي [مِنْكُمْ] وَيُوَازِرُنِي، وَيَكُونُ وَلِيِّي وَوَصِيِّي بَعْدِي وَخَلِيفَتِي فِي أَهْلِي
وَيَقْضِي دَيْنِي؟!

He then said:

> O sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib! Surely I am a warner to you from God, the Honorable and Exalted, and the bringer of glad tidings of what one of you will bring; I have brought you both this world and the Hereafter, so enter Islam and obey me. You will be guided!
>
> And who among you will be my brother, assist me, and be my successor and executor after I am gone, and my Caliph among my people and payer of my debt?!
>
> The people then all remained silent, and the Prophet repeated that three times, the people remaining speechless. Ali says: "I answered: 'I will.'" The Prophet then asked: "You?" Thereafter, the people stood up, saying to Abū Ṭālib: "Obey your son because he has put him in charge of you!"[16]

And without citing the chain of transmission, Shaykh Ṭabrisī relates the same hadith by way of commentary on the blessed verse. He also says: "Thaᶜlabī cites it in his exegesis."[17]

Eight Hadiths from Ibn ᶜAsākir Concerning the Warning Verse and the Relations Hadith

Ibn ᶜAsākir Dimashqī cites eight hadiths concerning the Warning Verse, gathering the relations and the appointment of Ali as aide, in the first volume of the book on Imam Ali: from number 135 to 142.

He cites hadith 135 via his unbroken chain from Sālim from Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib; after explaining the matter, God's Messenger asks at the end:

مَنْ يُوَازِرُنِي عَلَى مَا أَنَا عَلَيْهِ وَيُبَايِعُنِي عَلَى أَنْ يَكُونَ أَخِي وَلَهُ الْجَنَّةُ؟

> "Who will help me with what I am doing, and pledge allegiance to me to be my brother? Heaven will be for him."
>
> I replied: "I will, O God's Messenger, and lo! I am the youngest of them and thinnest-shanked out of all of them." Thereafter, the people remained silent, and then said: "O Abū Ṭālib, do you not see your son?!" Abū Ṭālib said: "Leave him alone, for he does not fail to do good for his cousin."[18]

He relates hadith 136, via his unbroken chain from Rabīᶜah Ibn Nājidh, from Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, that God's Messenger invited the sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib; and then he gives the account of the miracle that

occurred at that gathering: their all satisfying their hunger with a single leg of mutton, and quenching their thirst with a single bowl of yoghurt, without either of them reducing in quantity at all. The Prophet then said:

يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ! إِنِّي بُعِثْتُ إِلَيْكُمْ خَاصَّةً وَإِلَى النَّاسِ عَامَّةً، وَقَدْ رَأَيْتُمْ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةِ مَا رَأَيْتُمْ، فَأَيُّكُمْ يُبَايِعُنِي عَلَى أَنْ يَكُونَ أَخِي وَصَاحِبِي؟!

"O sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib! I have indeed been sent to you in particular, and to all the people in general! And you have seen what you have seen of this miracle! So, which of you will follow me, to be my brother and companion?!" Ali says: "No one stood up for him, but I stood up for him, though I was the youngest of all the people. Then [God's Messenger] said: 'Sit down.' [God's Messenger] did so three times, and every time I would stand up for him, but he would tell me: 'Sit down,' until the third [time]. When I stood up he clapped his hand on my hand [as the pledge of allegiance]."[19]

He narrates hadith 137 via his unbroken chain from ᶜAbbād Ibn ᶜAbdillāh al-Asadī, quoting Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as saying: "God's Messenger gathered together Quraysh, and then said: "No one will repay on my behalf except Ali."[20]

He relates hadith 138 via his unbroken chain from ᶜAbbād Ibn ᶜAbdillāh, quoting Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as saying:

When the verse

وانذر عشيرتك الاقربين

And warn your nearest relations (26:214) was revealed, God's Messenger invited men from his household, and after the manifestation of their all satisfying their hunger with a single leg of mutton, and quenching their thirst with a single bowl of yoghurt, he told them: "Ali will repay my debt[21] and keep my covenant."[22]

He relates hadith 139 via another unbroken chain from ᶜAbbād Ibn ᶜAbdillāh, quoting Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as saying [that the Prophet said]:

"O Ali, gather together the sons of Hāshim," and I cooked a *ṣāᶜ* of grain and mutton three times and prepared a bowl of yoghurt. They would eat and satisfy their hunger, and twice they said: "We have never seen sorcery like today." The third [time] God's Messenger initiated the conversation and asked:

أَيُّكُمْ يَقْضِي دَيْنِي وَيَكُونُ خَلِيفَتِي وَوَصِيِّي مِنْ بَعْدِي؟!

"Which of you will repay my debt, and be my successor and executor after me?"

[He said:] ᶜAbbās remained silent, afraid that [God's Messenger's debt] would consume all his property!

So God's Messenger repeated what he had said to the gathering, but [still] ᶜAbbās remained silent, afraid that that would consume his property! So God's Messenger repeated what he had said a third time. [Imam Ali] said:

> At that time, I had the worst appearance out of all of them.
>
> إِنِّي يَوْمَئِذٍ لَأَحْمَشُ السَّاقَيْنِ، أَعْمَشُ الْعَيْنَيْنِ ضَخْمُ الْبَطْنِ.
>
> Surely at that time, I was the thinnest-shanked out of all of them, bleary-eyed and enormous-bellied. However, I said: "I will, God's Messenger!"
>
> The Prophet asked: "You, Ali?! You, Ali?!"[23]

He relates hadith 140 via his unbroken chain from ᶜAbdullāh Ibn ᶜAbbās, quoting Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. This hadith is exactly the same one we have narrated from Ḥākim Ḥaskānī.[24]

He relates hadith 141 by means of his chains from Abū Rāfiᶜ. And this hadith is exactly the one we narrated from *Ghāyat al-Marām*, the quotation of Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbbās Ibn Māhyār, from *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān fimā Nazala fi Ahl al-Bayt*.[25]

He cites hadith 142 via his unbroken chain from Omar Ibn Ali Ibn Omar Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Abī Ṭālib, from his father, Ali Ibn al-Husayn, from Abū Rāfiᶜ, [who] said:

> After the people pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr, I was sitting, and I heard Abū Bakr say to ᶜAbbās:
>
> أَنْشُدُكَ اللهَ، هَلْ تَعْلَمُ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم جَمَعَ بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ وَأَوْلَادَهُمْ، وَأَنْتَ فِيهِمْ، وَجَمَعَكُمْ دُونَ قُرَيْشٍ. فَقَالَ: يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ، إِنَّهُ لَمْ يَبْعَثِ اللهُ نَبِيًّا إِلَّا جَعَلَ لَهُ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ أَخًا وَوَزِيرًا وَوَصِيًّا وَخَلِيفَةً فِي أَهْلِهِ
>
> فَمَنْ مِنْكُمْ يُبَايِعُنِي عَلَى أَنْ يَكُونَ أَخِي، وَوَزِيرِي، وَوَصِيِّي، وَخَلِيفَتِي فِي أَهْلِي؟! فَلَمْ يَقُمْ مِنْكُمْ أَحَدٌ

فَقَالَ: يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ! كُونُوا فِي الْإِسْلَامِ رُؤُوساً وَلَا تَكُونُوا أَذْنَاباً. وَاللهِ لَيَقُومَنَّ قَائِمُكُمْ!
أَوْ لَتَكُونُنَّ فِي غَيْرِكُمْ ثُمَّ لَتَنْدَمُنَّ!
فَقَامَ عَلِيٌّ مِنْ بَيْنِكُمْ فَبَايَعَهُ عَلَى مَا شَرَطَ لَهُ وَدَعَاهُ إِلَيْهِ.
أَتَعْلَمُ هَذَا لَهُ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ؟! قَالَ: نَعَمْ.[26]

I adjure you by God: Do you know that God's Messenger gathered the sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and their children together and you were one of them! He gathered you, to the exclusion of Quraysh, and then told you:

> O sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! God has not sent any prophet without appointing a brother, aide, executor, and successor in his family!
>
> Now, who among you will pledge allegiance to me to be my brother, aide, executor and successor in my family?

But none of you got up!

And then he said: "O sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! Be heads in Islam and do not be tails! By God, one of you should stand up. Otherwise it will be someone else. Then you will regret [it]!"

Thereafter, out of all of you, Ali stood up, and pledged allegiance to him pursuant to the condition he had made and what he had invited him to.

Now, do you accept this as true about God's Messenger?

[ʿAbbās] replied: "Yes."

Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal Relates the Relations Hadith

Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal relates via his chain, from Minhāl, from ʿAbbād Ibn ʿAbdillāh Asadī, from Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, [who] said:

> When the verse
>
> وانذر عشيرتك الاقربين
>
> *And warn your nearest relations* (26:214) was revealed, the Prophet gathered together his household, and thirty of them assembled. They then ate and drank. [The narrator] said:

He then asked them:

مَنْ يَضْمَنُ عَنِّي دَيْنِي وَمَوَاعِيدِي، وَيَكُونُ مَعِي فِي الْجَنَّةِ، وَيَكُونُ خَلِيفَتِي فِي أَهْلِي؟!

فَقَالَ رَجُلٌ لَمْ يُسَمِّهِ شَرِيكٌ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، أَنْتَ كُنْتَ بَحْرًا، مَنْ يَقُومُ بِهَذَا؟!

قَالَ: ثُمَّ قَالَ الْآخَرُ قَالَ: فَعَرَضَ ذَلِكَ عَلَى أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ، فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ: أَنَا.[27]

"Who will stand guarantor for me for my debt and my covenants, be with me in Paradise, and be my successor in my family?"

A man whom Sharīk[28] did not name then said: "O God's Messenger, you have been an ocean. Who can undertake this?!" [The narrator] says: "The other man said: 'He said: "He presented that to his household, and Ali answered: 'I will!'"'"

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, after Imam Ali's Sermon of Disparagement (*Khuṭbat al-Qāṣiᶜah*):

أَنَا وَضَعْتُ فِي الصِّغَرِ بِكَلَاكِلِ الْعَرَبِ، وَكَسَرْتُ نَوَاجِمَ قُرُونِ رَبِيعَةَ وَمُضَرَ.[29]

"When still little, I lowered the Arabs' chests and broke Rabīᶜah and Muḍar's horn points."

He says:

It is related from Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad al-Ṣādiq, who said:

كَانَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام يَرَى مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ (صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم) قَبْلَ الرِّسَالَةِ الضَّوْءَ وَيَسْمَعُ الصَّوْتَ، وَقَالَ لَهُ صلى الله عليه وآله: لَوْلَا أَنِّي خَاتَمُ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ لَكُنْتَ شَرِيكًا فِي النُّبُوَّةِ، فَإِنْ لَا تَكُنْ نَبِيًّا فَإِنَّكَ وَصِيُّ نَبِيٍّ وَوَارِثُهُ، بَلْ أَنْتَ سَيِّدُ الْأَوْصِيَاءِ وَإِمَامُ الْأَتْقِيَاءِ.

Now, before the message, Ali would see light, and hear voices with God's Messenger. [The Prophet] would say to him: "If I were not the Seal of the Prophets, you would be a partner in the prophethood! But even though you are not a prophet, you are a prophet's executor and heir! In fact you are the Master of the Executors, and the Imam of the God-fearing!"

The Traditions Concerning the Relations Hadith

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd then tells the story of the Warning Verse and Relations Hadith, fully quoting Ṭabarī in his chronicle, as did we quote Ṭabarī in *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 1, Lesson 5; similarly we cite it in this volume, at the beginning of Ḥākim Ḥaskānī's narration. There is in it an explicit statement that the Prophet said:

هَذَا أَخِي وَوَصِيِّي وَخَلِيفَتِي فِيكُمْ فَاسْمَعُوا لَهُ وَأَطِيعُوا.

"This is my brother, executor, and successor among you, so listen to him and obey him!"

He then says:

God's words:

وَاجْعَلْ لِي وَزِيرًا مِنْ أَهْلِي هَارُونَ أَخِي اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي

And assign for me an aide from my family, Aaron, my brother, strengthen my back by him, and make him a partner to me in my affair! (20:31) prove that [Ali] is God's Messenger's aide from the wording of the Scripture and Sunnah.

In a hadith unanimously accepted by all sects of Islam, the Prophet said:

أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي

"You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."

Thus, the Prophet confirmed that Ali held [in relation to himself] every level and status Aaron held in relation to Moses. Hence, Ali is God's Messenger's aide and the strengthener of his back. If the Prophet were not the Seal of the Prophets, Ali would have been his partner in his mandate.

Abū Jaʿfar Ṭabarī relates in his chronicle that a man asked Ali:

يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، بِمَ وَرِثْتَ ابْنَ عَمِّكَ دُونَ عَمِّكَ؟

"O Master of the Faithful, what did you, as opposed to your uncle, inherit from your cousin?!"

Ali said:

هَاؤُم.

"Hark!" three times until the people raised their heads and all lent their ears. He then said:

> God's Messenger gathered together all the sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib in Mecca, their all being his closest relatives. Each of them would eat a whole lamb (*jadhaʿah*) and drink a big bowl (*firq*),[30] but he only prepared a *mudd*[31] of food, so they ate and satisfied their hunger, and the food remained as it was, as if untouched. He then called for a small bowl,[32] and they all drank and quenched their thirst, and the drink remained as if undrunk! And then he said:

يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ! إِنِّي بُعِثْتُ إِلَيْكُمْ خَاصَّةً، وَإِلَى النَّاسِ عَامَّةً، فَأَيُّكُمْ يُبَايِعُنِي عَلَى أَنْ يَكُونَ أَخِي وَصَاحِبِي وَوَارِثِي؟!

"O sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib! I have been sent to you in particular, and to all the people in general; so now, which of you will pledge allegiance to me to be my brother, companion, and heir?!"

No one stood up for him, so I stood up, even though I was the youngest of his relatives (*al-qawm*). The Prophet told me: "Sit down." He then repeated [his invitation] three times. Each time I stood up, and [the Prophet] said: "Sit down," until the third time when the Prophet clapped his hand on my hand; it was then that I, as opposed to my uncle, inherited from my cousin.[33]

Mullā Ali Muttaqī quotes Ibn Mardawayh's account of the invitation to the sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib by way of commentary on the Warning Verse, saying:

ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُمْ - وَمَدَّ يَدَهُ - مَنْ يُبَايِعُنِي عَلَى أَنْ يَكُونَ أَخِي، وَصَاحِبِي، وَوَلِيُّكُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِي؟!

Then, [the Prophet], stretching out his hand, said: "Who will pledge allegiance to me, to be my brother, my companion, and your Master after me?!" [Ali says:] At that time, I was the youngest of his relatives (*al-qawm*), with a huge belly; I stretched out my hand to the Prophet and said: "I pledge allegiance to you!"

Thereafter, God's Messenger let me pledge allegiance on that [basis]. [Ali says:] And it was I who prepared that food.[34]

Even though in this hadith, there is no mention of my Caliph (*khalifati*), the phrase "and your Master after me" (*wa waliyyukum min baᶜdī*) takes its place. Indubitably, the *walāyah* here means the position of Imam and Caliph for two reasons: first, the context of setting up that session, and the attendance by [the Prophet's] uncles—the sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib. That invitation made by the Prophet cannot mean anything else. Second, there is indication in the context provided by "after me" (*min baᶜdī*) because Imam Ali's Imamate and Caliphate would be after God's Messenger's death. All other aspects of *walāyah* after the greatest Messenger's death were uncontentious.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd narrates from his Shaykh, Abū Jaᶜfar Iskāfī,[35] saying:

It has been narrated in an authentic hadith that at the beginning of the mission before the appearance and spread of the word of Islam in Mecca, the Prophet entrusted Ali with preparing a meal and inviting the sons

of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He prepared the meal and invited them to it, but they left that day, without [the Prophet's] warning them because of something his uncle Abū Lahab said. Therefore, on the second day, [the Prophet] commanded Ali to prepare food again and invite the sons of ᶜAbd al- Muṭṭalib. Ali prepared [the food], and invited them, so they ate.

[The Prophet] then spoke to them and invited them to Islam (*al-dīn*); he invited Ali as well, because he was also of the sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He also guaranteed that he would appoint whoever aided and assisted him, with what he said, his brother in the religion, his executor after his death, and his successor after him. They all remained silent, but Ali alone answered him, and said:

أَنَا أَنْصُرُكَ عَلَى مَا جِئْتَ بِهِ، وَأُوَازِرُكَ وَأُبَايِعُكَ.

"I will assist you with what you have brought, aid you, and pledge allegiance to you!"

And as [the Prophet] saw their desertion, but [Ali's] assistance, and saw their disobedience but [Ali's] obedience, and their rejection but [Ali's] acceptance, he announced:

هَذَا أَخِي وَوَصِيِّي وَخَلِيفَتِي مِنْ بَعْدِي.

"This is my brother, and my executor and successor after me."

[Those men from his tribe] then stood up, mocking, laughing, and saying to Abū Ṭālib:

أَطِعِ ابْنَكَ، فَقَدْ أَمَّرَهُ عَلَيْكَ.[36]

"Obey your son! Because [Muhammad] has made him your Master!"

Now it is time we narrated two very interesting stories concerning this subject, both of them from *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*. He says:

Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih has related in *al-ᶜIqd al-Farīd* that the whole nation unanimously narrate from Abū Rāfiᶜ and others, that Ali disputed with ᶜAbbās over the Prophet's mantle (*burd* or *ridā'*), sword, and horse before Abū Bakr. So Abū Bakr said:

أَيْنَ كُنْتَ يَا عَبَّاسُ حِينَ جَمَعَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وآله بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ وَأَنْتَ أَحَدُهُمْ فَقَالَ: أَيُّكُمْ يُوَازِرُنِي فَيَكُونَ وَصِيِّي وَخَلِيفَتِي فِي أَهْلِي وَيُنْجِزُ مَوْعِدِي وَيَقْضِي دَيْنِي؟

"O ᶜAbbās, where were you when God's Messenger gathered the sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib together, and you were one of them? And he said: 'Which of you will assist me and be my executor, and my successor in my family, and fulfil my covenant and pay my debt?'"

ᶜAbbās asked:

فَمَا أَصْدَكَ مَجْلِسَكَ هَذَا؟! تَقَدَّمْتَهُ وَتَأَمَّرْتَ عَلَيْهِ

"What put you on this seat of yours?! You put yourself before him and made yourself his Master!" Abū Bakr said:

أَغَدْراً يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ

"Is it treason, sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib?!"

And the second one is that once, one of Hārūn al-Rashīd's theologians said: "I want to make Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam concede that Ali was an oppressor!" Hārūn said: "If you do, then you will have a certain amount of reward (*kadhā wa kadhā*)!" Then he summoned him, and when he came, the theologian said to Hishām: "O Abū Muhammad, the entire nation unanimously relate that Ali disputed with ʿAbbās before Abū Bakr over the Prophet's mantle (*burd* or *ridāʾ*), sword, and horse." [Hishām] answered: "Yes!" The theologian said: "Which of them wronged the other?" But Hishām was afraid of al-Rashīd because ʿAbbās was his ancestor, so he said: "Neither of them was a wrongdoer." The theologian said: "Two [men] dispute over a matter and they are both right?!" Hishām said: "Yes! Two angels disputed over a ewe before David, neither of them a wrongdoer. They just wanted to make him aware of the law; similarly Ali and ʿAbbās litigated before Abū Bakr over God's Messenger's estate to make [Abū Bakr] recognize his wrongdoing."[37]

The Sunni Scholars' Concealment of the Status Hadith and the Invitation to the Prophet's Relations

Nevertheless, Sunnis, or rather fanatical ones, have exerted efforts to hide the truth and present falsehoods instead; they have done their best to ignore and reject this explicit appointment of the Master of the Faithful as the first (*bilā faṣl*) Imam and Caliph. They record part of it in their books and reject the rest!

In volume 1, lesson 5 of *Knowing the Imams* we mentioned that in his biography of the Prophet, Ḥalabī narrates this hadith up to:

قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَنَا يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، وَأَنَا أَحْدَثُهُمْ سِنّاً وَسَكَتَ الْقَوْمُ.

"Ali said: 'I will, God's Messenger,' though I was the youngest of them, and all [my] other relatives (*al-qawm*) remained silent." And he makes no mention of the Prophet's question or the answer thereto, pertaining to the status of Imam Ali; that is, he has omitted the phrase:

عَلَى أَن يَكُونَ أَخِي وَوَصِيِّي وَخَلِيفَتِي مِن بَعْدِي.

"...to be my brother and my executor and successor after me," and also the Prophet's response:

فَأَنتَ أَخِي وَوَصِيِّي وَخَلِيفَتِي مِن بَعْدِي.

"So you are my brother and my executor and successor after me." His wretchedness even leads him to saying:

> Some people have added this clause
>
> أَخِي وَوَصِيِّي، وَوَارِثِي، وَوَزِيرِي وَخَلِيفَتِي مِن بَعْدِي
>
> to it![38]

Even though in his chronicle, Ṭabarī does mention the phrase:

وصيي وخليفتي فيكم

"my executor and successor among you" in his exegesis, he narrates the same hadith, and tells the whole story, but instead of the phrase "my executor and successor among you," he says: "such-and-such,"[39] distorting the hadith!

Therefore, his passage stands as:

قَالَ: فَأَيُّكُم يُوَازِرُنِي عَلَى هَذَا الأَمرِ عَلَى أَن يَكُونَ أَخِي وَكَذَا وَكَذَا.

"He said: 'So which of you will help me with this matter, being my brother and such-and-such and such-and-such."

He then says regarding God's Messenger's last words:

ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنَّ هَذَا أَخِي وَكَذَا وَكَذَا.

"He then said: 'Surely this is my brother and such-and-such and such-and-such.'"

And emulating his crime and treachery, Ibn Kathīr Dimashqī in *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*[40] and in his exegesis,[41] instead of those two words, writes "such-and-such."

Note the criminality of these esteemed historians, traditionists, and exegetes, openly pilfering from their offspring and their descendants, hiding the truth and intentionally fabricating a school of thought in opposition to the Household's through dishonest means—forgery, deception, and trickery!

We have witnessed the crime of Muhammad Ḥasanayn Haykal, Egypt's former Educational Minister, and the editor-in-chief of *al-Ahrām* newspaper in the first edition, and even more appallingly in

the second edition, of his book *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (Muhammad's Life).[42]

Thus, we understand that Sunnis believe in unjust rulers, but it is the fault of those standard-bearers of scholarship and those religious leaders and nationalists who copied their ideologies and opinions, in accordance with the natural law:

الناس على دين ملوكهم.

"People follow their kings' religion."[43]

Jewish Scholars' Corruption of God's Word

Verses critical of Jewish rabbis' and Christian priests' corruption of the Torah and Gospel, in order to seize power and rule common people by the neck, are also wholly applicable to Sunni scholars!

Concerning the leaders of the Jews, the Holy Qur'an says:

وَإِذْ قُلْنَا ادْخُلُوا هَٰذِهِ الْقَرْيَةَ فَكُلُوا مِنْهَا حَيْثُ شِئْتُمْ رَغَدًا وَادْخُلُوا الْبَابَ سُجَّدًا وَقُولُوا حِطَّةٌ نَغْفِرْ لَكُمْ خَطَايَاكُمْ وَسَنَزِيدُ الْمُحْسِنِينَ ۝ فَبَدَّلَ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا قَوْلًا غَيْرَ الَّذِي قِيلَ لَهُمْ فَأَنْزَلْنَا عَلَى الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا رِجْزًا مِنَ السَّمَاءِ بِمَا كَانُوا يَفْسُقُونَ.

And when We said: Enter this city, then eat from it a plenteous (food) wherever you wish, and enter the gate making obeisance, and say, forgiveness. We will forgive you your wrongs and give more to those who do good (to others). But those who were unjust changed it for a saying other than that which had been spoken to them, so We sent upon those who were unjust a pestilence from heaven, because they transgressed (2:58–59).

And similarly it has been stated:

وَإِذْ قِيلَ لَهُمُ اسْكُنُوا هَٰذِهِ الْقَرْيَةَ وَكُلُوا مِنْهَا حَيْثُ شِئْتُمْ وَقُولُوا حِطَّةٌ وَادْخُلُوا الْبَابَ سُجَّدًا نَغْفِرْ لَكُمْ خَطِيئَاتِكُمْ سَنَزِيدُ الْمُحْسِنِينَ ۝ فَبَدَّلَ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنْهُمْ قَوْلًا غَيْرَ الَّذِي قِيلَ لَهُمْ فَأَرْسَلْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ رِجْزًا مِنَ السَّمَاءِ بِمَا كَانُوا يَظْلِمُونَ.

And when it was said to them: Reside in this town and eat from it wherever you wish, and say, Put down from us our heavy burdens: and enter the gate making obeisance, We will forgive you your wrongs: We will give more to those who do good (to others). But those who were unjust among them changed it for a saying other than that which had been spoken to them; so We sent upon them a pestilence from heaven because they were unjust (7:161–62).

There are also verses warning against the alteration of the words and phrases, thus spoiling the primary meaning of the verses:

مِنَ الَّذِينَ هَادُوا يُحَرِّفُونَ الْكَلِمَ عَن مَّوَاضِعِهِ وَيَقُولُونَ سَمِعْنَا وَعَصَيْنَا.

Some of those who are Jews change words from their context and say: "We hear and disobey..." (4:46).

The same applies to when He assigned twelve chieftains for the Israelites, to command them to pray, give alms, and believe in the prophets. He then promised them Heaven and deemed ingratitude for those blessings a departure from the Straight Path, when they broke their covenant:

فَبِمَا نَقْضِهِم مِّيثَاقَهُمْ لَعَنَّاهُمْ وَجَعَلْنَا قُلُوبَهُمْ قَاسِيَةً يُحَرِّفُونَ الْكَلِمَ عَن مَّوَاضِعِهِ وَنَسُوا حَظًّا مِّمَّا ذُكِّرُوا بِهِ وَلَا تَزَالُ تَطَّلِعُ عَلَىٰ خَائِنَةٍ مِّنْهُمْ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا مِّنْهُمْ فَاعْفُ عَنْهُمْ وَاصْفَحْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُحْسِنِينَ.

So, for their breaking their covenant, We cursed them and hardened their hearts [such that the preaching, warnings and promises had no effect on them]. They change words from their context and forget a portion of what they were reminded about. You will not cease to discover treachery in them all except for a few. Yet forgive and overlook, surely God loves the kindly (5:13).

He also says about the Israelites:

أَفَتَطْمَعُونَ أَن يُؤْمِنُوا لَكُمْ وَقَدْ كَانَ فَرِيقٌ مِّنْهُمْ يَسْمَعُونَ كَلَامَ اللَّهِ ثُمَّ يُحَرِّفُونَهُ مِن بَعْدِ مَا عَقَلُوهُ وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ.

Do you then hope that they will believe in you when a group of them would hear God's word, then knowingly pervert it after understanding it? (2:75).

Even though these verses were revealed about the Jews, the spirit of them is equally applicable to anyone who perverts the meanings of God's verses, no matter what their religion or nationality is. It applies to all those scholars and leaders who pervert God's words and Divine laws, customs, and traditions or try to erase the words "successor after me," "my successor among you," "my successor" or any other such expressions in order to dislodge the leadership and succession from its settled status and definitive place: the axis of the world and the Imam of his time, the Master of the Masters, Imam Ali, and then to transfer it to incompetents like Abū Bakr, Omar, Othman, Muʿāwiyah, and so on through the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid dynasties!

What a great betrayal this is! How unforgivable a sin it is! What race is this in the Qurʾan to the Qurʾan itself? What help is this to the religion and religious law?! What kind of protection is this for people and mankind?!

Abū Jaᶜfar Iskāfī's Comment on Corruption of Hadiths about Ali

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, the Muᶜtazilite author of the commentary [on *Nahj al-Balāghah*], quotes his Master and Shaykh, Abū Jaᶜfar Iskāfī, on the Master of the Masters, Imam Ali's, superiority by way of refutation of Jāḥiẓ's *Othmaniyyah*. It is worth scrutinizing. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, after using Iskāfī's words to refute Jāḥiẓ's evidence in support of his claim of Abū Bakr's superiority and precedence in Islam, and proving that the hadiths on the matter are fabricated, concludes by saying:

> Our Shaykh, Abū Jaᶜfar Iskāfī, says:
>
> > If people were not overcome with ignorance and love of emulation, we would not need to refute the arguments presented by *Othmaniyyah*. Because everybody knows that the state and power is held by those who say what they do. Everyone knows the position, ranks, and level of their shaykhs, scholars, chiefs, and commanders, the predominance of their word, and the force of their power. They have no need to dissimulate, and they are respected. The prize is awarded to whoever relates hadiths about Abū Bakr's merit.
> >
> > The Umayyads reinforced this, and traditionists fabricated hadiths in pursuit of what the rulers had in their possession. Therefore, throughout their reign, they tried to suppress all reference to Ali and his offspring. They tried to extinguish their light, and hid their virtues, achievements, and precedents; they forced preachers to insult, vilify, and curse them when atop the pulpits. The sword was still dripping with their blood, though they were few in number, and their enemies numerous.
> >
> > They always either killed, captured, exiled, put to flight, forced ignominiously into hiding, or made [people] fearful and vigilant, so much so that jurists, traditionists, judges, and theologians were threatened with death or severe punishment if they referred to any of [the Household's] virtues in public.
> >
> > And they did not allow anyone to meet them, and a traditionist would have to exercise so much precautionary dissimulation that whenever he cited a hadith about Ali he would have to disguise the reference, and say, for example:
> >
> > "A man from Quraysh said," or: "A man of Quraysh did so..." He would not dare mention Ali or utter his name.

> And on the other hand, we see that all his opponents, through-and-through rebels, those furiously and openly hostile to the Household, resolute in vilifying them, stubborn inebriates, hypocritical disbelievers and envious supporters of Othman, tried to refute his virtues or conspired and intentionally misinterpreted them, objected to them, and criticized them. There were also Muʿtazilites who presented theological refutations, had insight into the reasons for differences between sects (*ʿilm al-ikhtilāf*), and knew misconceptions, where to criticize, and various kinds of interpretation. They used deception to refute Ali's virtues, and his merits were willfully misinterpreted.
>
> Sometimes impossible interpretations were applied to them, and sometimes they were denigrated through erroneous analogy.

Cursing Imam Ali on the Pulpits for Eighty Years

However, their actions only strengthened him and elevated his status. And you know that Muʿāwiyah and Yazīd, as well as those who came after them—the Marwānids during their reigns, which in total lasted about eighty years—did not spare any effort in inciting people to insult and curse Ali, conceal his virtues, and suppress his achievements and precedents!

Khālid Ibn ʿAbdillāh Wāsiṭī relates from Ḥaṣīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Hilāl Ibn Yasāf, from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ẓālim: "When allegiance was pledged to Muʿāwiyah, Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah appointed preachers to curse Ali. Saʿīd Ibn Zayd Ibn ʿAmr Ibn Nufayl said: 'Do you not see this tyrannical man ordering that one of (*rajul min*) the people of Heaven be cursed?!'"

Sulaymān Ibn Dāwūd relates from Shuʿbah, from Ḥurr Ibn Ṣabāḥ, [who] said: "I heard ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Akhnas say: 'I witnessed Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah deliver a sermon. He mentioned Ali and then defamed him! '"

Abū Kurayb related: "Abū Usāmah related to us from Ṣadaqah Ibn Muthannā Nakhaʿī, from Riyāḥ Ibn Ḥārith: 'When Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah was in the Grand Mosque, and there were some people with him, a certain man called Qays Ibn ʿAlqamah came to him, faced Mughīrah, and vilified Ali. '"

Muhammad Ibn Saʿīd Iṣfahānī relates from Sharīk, from Muhammad Ibn Isḥāq, from ʿAmr Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, from his father, Ali Ibn al-Husayn, [who] said:

> Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam told me:

مَاكَانَ فِي الْقَوْمِ أَدفَعَ عَن صَاحِبِنَا مِن صَاحِبِكُم! قُلتُ: فَمَا بَالُكُم تَسُبُّونَهُ عَلَى الْمَنَابِرِ؟ قَالَ: إِنَّهُ لَا يَسْتَقِيمُ لَنَا الْأَمرُ إِلَّا بِذَلِكَ.[44]

"There was no one more defensive of our Master [Othman] than your Master [Ali]!" I asked: "So why do you curse him on the pulpits?!" [Marwān] said: "Our leadership cannot be established without doing so!"

Mālik Ibn Ismāʿīl Abū Ghassān Nahdī quotes Ibn Abī Sayf as saying:

Marwān delivered a sermon while Hasan was sitting there. Marwān then defamed Ali, so Hasan said:

وَيلَكَ يَا مَرْوَانُ! أَهَذَا الَّذِي تَشْتُمُ شَرُّ النَّاسِ؟ قَالَ: لَا، وَلَكِنَّهُ خَيرُ النَّاسِ.

"Woe on you, Marwān! Is this [man] whom you are cursing the worst person?" He replied: "No, on the contrary, he is the best person!"

Abū Ghassān also narrated that Omar Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said:

كَانَ أَبِي يَخْطُبُ فَلَا يَزَالُ مُستَمِرًّا فِي خُطْبَتِهِ، حَتَّى إِذَا صَارَ إِلَى ذِكرِ عَلِي وَسَبِّهِ تَقَطَّعَ لِسَانُهُ وَاصْفَرَّ وَجْهُهُ وَتَغَيَّرَت حَالُهُ. فَقُلتُ لَهُ فِي ذَلِكَ،
فَقَالَ: أَوَقَد فَطَنتَ لِذَلِكَ! إِنَّ هَؤُلَاءِ لَو يَعْلَمُونَ مِن عَلِي مَا يَعْلَمُهُ أَبُوكَ مَا تَبِعَنَا مِنهُم رَجُل.

My father was delivering a sermon, and he continued with his sermon until he reached [the time] to mention and vilify Ali. He began stuttering, and his face and his whole condition changed! I asked him about that, so he said: "Did you notice that? If these people knew what your father knows about Ali, not a single man among them would follow us!"

The Vilification Only Made Ali's Elevated Status Clearer

Abū Othman quotes Abū Yaqṭān as saying:

On the Day of ʿArafah, a man from Othman's offspring stood before Hishām Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik and said:

إِنَّ هَذَا يَومٌ كَانَتِ الْخُلَفَاءُ تَستَحِبُّ فِيهِ لَعنَ أَبِي تُرَاب.

"Surely this was a day the Caliphs would prefer vilifying Abū Turāb!"

ʿAmr Ibn Qannād related from Muhammad Ibn Fuḍayl, from Ashʿath Ibn Sawwār, [who] said:

ʿAdī Ibn Arṭāt vilified Ali on the pulpit. Hasan Baṣrī then wept and said:
لَقَدْ سُبَّ هَذَا الْيَوْمَ رَجُلٌ إِنَّهُ لَأَخُو رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ

"Today, a man who most certainly is God's Messenger's brother in this world and the Hereafter has been vilified."

ʿAdī Ibn Thābit quotes Ismāʿīl Ibn Ibrāhīm as saying:

Ibrāhīm Ibn Zayd and I were sitting close to the Kindah gates, [in the mosque] on Friday, when Mughīrah [Ibn Shuʿbah] emerged to deliver a sermon. So he praised God, then mentioned what he wanted to mention, and then slandered (*waqaʿa fī*) Ali. So Ibrāhīm tapped my knee or thigh, and then said: "Turn towards me, and speak to me, because we are not at Friday [prayers]! Do you not hear what this [man] is saying?"

ʿAbdullāh Ibn Othman Thaqafī relates:

Ibn Abī Sayf told me:

A son of ʿĀmir Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn Zubayr said to his son:

لَا تَذْكُرْ يَا بُنَيَّ عَلِيًّا إِلَّا بِخَيْرٍ فَإِنَّ بَنِي أُمَيَّةَ لَعَنُوهُ عَلَى مَنَابِرِهِمْ ثَمَانِينَ سَنَةً فَلَمْ يَزِدْهُ اللهُ بِذَلِكَ إِلَّا رِفْعَةً. إِنَّ الدُّنْيَا لَمْ تَبْنِ شَيْئًا قَطُّ إِلَّا رَجَعَتْ عَلَى مَا بَنَتْ فَهَدَمَتْهُ وَإِنَّ الدِّينَ لَمْ يَبْنِ شَيْئًا قَطُّ وَهَدَمَهُ.[45]

> O my son! Don't say anything but good about Ali, because the Umayyads have cursed him atop their pulpits for eighty years, but God has only elevated his status further thereby. Surely, the world has never built anything without turning against what it has built and destroying it! And surely the religion has never built anything and [then] destroyed it!

Othman Ibn Saʿīd narrates:

Muṭṭalib Ibn Ziyād related to us from Abū Bakr Ibn ʿAbdillāh Iṣfahānī, [who] said:

A bastard son of the Umayyads would always curse Ali.

When it was Friday, he delivered a sermon to the people, saying:

وَاللهِ إِنْ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللهِ لَيَسْتَعْمِلُهُ وَإِنَّهُ لَيَعْلَمُ مَا هُوَ، وَلَكِنَّهُ كَانَ خَتَنَهُ

> "By God, God's Messenger would appoint him, knowing what he was, but he was his son-in-law!"
>
> Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib had dozed off, but he opened his eyes, and then said: "Woe upon you! What did this malicious [man] say?! I saw the grave crack wide open and God's Messenger say: 'You are lying, O enemy of God!'"

Qannād narrates:

Asbāṭ Ibn Naṣr Hamedānī related from Saddī, [who] said:

> When I was in Aḥjār al-Zayt, in Medina, a rider on a camel approached, stopped, and vilified Ali. The people surrounded him, looking at him. Then, when he was so, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ approached and said: "O God! If he was vilifying a pious servant of Yours, then show the Muslims his ignominy!" Before long, his camel stampeded and he fell down and broke his neck!

Othman Ibn Abī Shaybah relates from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Mūsā, from Fuṭr Ibn Khalīfah, from Abū ʿAbdillāh Jadalī, [who] said:

> I went to see Umm Salamah, may God have mercy on her, and she asked me: "Is God's Messenger being vilified among you, even though you are still alive?!"
>
> I asked: "Wherefore is this?"
>
> She asked: "Are Ali and anyone who loves him not being vilified?"

ʿAbbās Ibn Bakkār Ḍabbī narrates: "Abū Bakr Hudhalī related to me from Zuhrī: 'ʿAbbās asked Muʿāwiyah: "Are you not going to stop reviling this man?" Muʿāwiyah replied: "I will not do so until the young grow up on it, and then the old grow senile doing so!"'"

If the Rulers Innovate Something among the Nation, It Gradually Becomes a Tradition

When Omar Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz became ruler, he stopped reviling [Ali], so the people said: "He has broken with tradition."

Ibn Masʿūd narrates [either in his own words or as a direct quote from the Prophet (*immā mawqūfan ʿalayhi aw marfūʿan*):

كَيْفَ أَنْتُمْ إِذَا شَمِلَتْكُمْ فِتْنَةٌ يَرْبُو عَلَيْهَا الصَّغِيرُ وَيَهْرَمُ فِيهَا الْكَبِيرُ، يَجْرِي عَلَيْهَا النَّاسُ فَيَتَّخِذُونَهَا سُنَّةً، فَإِذَا غُيِّرَ مِنْهَا شَيْءٌ قِيلَ: غُيِّرَتِ السُّنَّةُ

"How will you [respond], when strife envelops you, which the young grow up on, and the old become senile on, and the people follow it and adopt it as a tradition? Then, when any of it is changed, it will be said: 'The tradition (*Sunnah*) has been changed.'"

Abū Jaʿfar Iskāfī then says: "You already know that some kings may on a whim have innovated a saying or religion, and then encouraged the nation to follow, until they know no other!"

Due to Ḥajjāj's Tyranny, Othman's Recitation Was Revived, and ʿAbdullāh Ibn Masʿūd's Recitation Was Abandoned

For example, Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf Thaqafī made the people adopt Othman's recitation [of the Qurʾan], and give up ʿAbdullāh Ibn Masʿūd's recitation, and Ubayy Ibn Kaʿb's. He threatened [his people] not to mention what he and the Umayyad and Marwanid tyrants did to Ali's offspring and their offspring. Ḥajjāj's reign only lasted about twenty years, but before he died, all the people of Iraq recited like Othman, and their children grew up not knowing any other, because their fathers refrained from any other, and the teachers stopped teaching any other. The result was that if Ibn Masʿūd's or Ubayy's recitations were recited for them, they would not recognize them and think that there was forcedness and improperness in their composition, because they had become so used to [Othman's] and been ignorant for so long.

This is because when rulers and chiefs dominate the flock, control is prolonged, and fear is widespread, and they all have to dissimulate. They all become listless and silent. That is why with every passing day they have less vision, less understanding, and less persistence until the innovation that [the rulers] introduced buries the tradition (*Sunnah*) they once knew.

In order to hide the virtues and merits of Ali, his offspring, and his followers, and to detract from them, Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf, and those who appointed him as governor, such as ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, Walīd, and their "Pharaonic" Umayyad predecessors and successors, were intent on suppressing the recitations of Ibn Masʿūd and Ibn Kaʿb, so that these recitations could not cause them to lose their power, their control to be ruined, and them to be exposed. If Ali's and his offspring's virtues became known, that would cause [the Um-

mayyads] destruction, and the law of the discarded Book would govern them. So they were intent on hiding, and strived to hide, [Ali's] merits, and forced the nation to suppress and conceal them.

Nevertheless, God willed that Ali and his offspring would only shine brighter, be even more beloved, and be more widely remembered, and that their evidence would be stronger and clearer, their merit would be more apparent, their status would be higher, and their standing greater. They insulted them, but [the Household] only became stronger. They tried to kill their memory, but it just lived on. They harbored ill will towards Ali and his offspring, but they only received good and blessing!

From this starting point, mention of his unparalleled and unequaled virtues, unique characteristics, distinctions, and precedents has reached us.

If they were not as well known as the direction in which we pray, or numerous, like the traditions, not even a letter of them would have reached us in our time, because the situation was as we have explained to you.[46]

We have been somewhat prolix in our discussion on the tyrannical pharaonic rulers and the dominant authority imposed upon the nations by their scholars and preachers, and the effort by their writers to corrupt references to the Master of the Faithful's virtues. That was to make clear to researchers into Islamic sciences and humanities the extent of the efforts exerted to suppress any reference to Imam Ali's name and his legacy. They did not just content themselves with suppression of his and his Household's merits and achievements; they even fabricated merits to attribute to Abū Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Muʿāwiyah! Leaders of congregational prayer, delivering sermons on Fridays and festivals, would recite these fabrications from atop the pulpits, thus brainwashing the people so that they would not realize the truth!

Now, let us consider the Imam's appointment as aide, Master, and successor as understood from the Noble Verse.

Comparing the Hadiths with the Verse: *And appoint for me an aide from my family*

In his invaluable virtues book, *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, under the heading "That Which Was Revealed about Imam Ali," Ḥākim Ḥaskānī relates eight narrations about the verses

وَاجْعَلْ لِي وَزِيرًا مِنْ أَهْلِي هَارُونَ أَخِي اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي

And appoint for me an aide from my family—Aaron, my brother. Strengthen my back through him and make him share my task (20:29–32). Some of them follow.

He relates via his unbroken chain from Ḥudhayfah Ibn Usayd, [who] said:

قَالَ أَخَذَ النَّبِيُّ بِيَدِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، فَقَالَ: أَبْشِرُوا أَبْشِرُوا، إِنَّ مُوسَى دَعَا رَبَّهُ أَنْ يَجْعَلَ لَهُ وَزِيرًا مِنْ أَهْلِهِ هَارُونَ، وَإِنِّي أَدْعُو رَبِّي أَنْ يَجْعَلَ لِي وَزِيرًا مِنْ أَهْلِي عَلِيًّا أَخِي، اشْدُدْ بِهِ ظَهْرِي وَاشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي،[47]

"The Prophet took Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's hand and said: 'Rejoice! Rejoice! Moses prayed to his Lord to appoint for him an aide from his family, his brother, Aaron. And now, I pray to my Lord to appoint for me an aide from my family, Ali, my brother. *Strengthen my back through him and make him share my task.*'"

He relates via his other unbroken chain from Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays, [who] said:

I heard God's Messenger say:

اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أَقُولُ كَمَا قَالَ أَخِي مُوسَى: اللَّهُمَّ اجْعَلْ لِي وَزِيرًا مِنْ أَهْلِي عَلِيًّا أَخِي اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي كَيْ نُسَبِّحَكَ كَثِيرًا وَنَذْكُرَكَ كَثِيرًا إِنَّكَ كُنْتَ بِنَا بَصِيرًا،[48]

"O God! I say to You as my brother, Moses, said: O God! Appoint for me an aide from my family, Ali, my brother. Strengthen my back through him and make him share my task, that we may glorify You much and remember You oft. Surely You are ever Seeing us!"

Ṣabāḥ Ibn Yaḥyā Mazanī narrates this hadith from Ḥarth, as per ʿAyyāshī's book and Furāt's book. Ḥuṣayn also narrates it from Asmāʾ.

Via his unbroken chain from Anas Ibn Mālik he narrates that the Prophet said:

إِنَّ أَخِي، وَوَزِيرِي، وَخَلِيفَتِي فِي أَهْلِي، وَخَيْرَ مَنْ أَتْرُكُ بَعْدِي، يَقْضِي دَيْنِي وَيُنْجِزُ مَوْعُودِي عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ،[49]

"Surely my brother, my aide, my successor in my family, and the best whom I will leave behind me, and who will fulfill my promise, is Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib."

Ibn Maghāzilī relates via his unbroken chain, from ʿIkrimah, that Ibn ʿAbbās said:

God's Messenger took my hand and took Ali's hand and prayed four *rakʿahs*,[50] lifted his hand up to Heaven, and implored:

اللّٰهُمَّ سَأَلَكَ مُوسَى بْنُ عِمْرَانَ وَإِنَّ مُحَمَّداً سَأَلَكَ أَنْ تَشْرَحَ لِي صَدْرِي وَتُيَسِّرَ لِي أَمْرِي وَتَحْلُلَ عُقْدَةً مِنْ لِسَانِي يَفْقَهُوا قَوْلِي وَاجْعَلْ لِي وَزِيراً مِنْ أَهْلِي عَلِيّاً أَشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي

"O God! Moses, son of Amram, asked You, and surely now, Muhammad is asking You: Expand my chest for me, ease my affair for me, loosen a knot from my tongue [so that people] understand me. And appoint for me an aide from my family, Ali. Strengthen my back through him; and make him share my task!"

Ibn ʿAbbās says: "I heard a caller cry out: 'O Aḥmad! You have been granted what you asked for!'"[51]

Then the Prophet said: "O Abū al-Hasan, lift your hand up towards Heaven, pray to your Lord, and ask Him! He will grant you [what you ask]!"

Ali lifted his hand up towards Heaven, saying:

اللّٰهُمَّ اجْعَلْ لِي عِنْدَكَ عَهْداً وَاجْعَلْ لِي عِنْدَكَ وُدّاً

"O God! Make a covenant for me with You and appoint love for me!"

God then revealed to His Prophet:

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ سَيَجْعَلُ لَهُمُ الرَّحْمَٰنُ وُدّاً.

Surely those who believe and do good deeds, the Merciful will appoint for them love (19:96).

The Prophet recited [this verse] to his companions, and they were very surprised, so the Prophet asked them:

> Why are you surprised? The Qurʾan has four parts; a quarter is exclusively about us, the Household, a quarter is about our enemies, a quarter is about what is lawful and what is unlawful, and a quarter is about merits and laws:
>
> وَاللهُ أَنْزَلَ فِي عَلِيٍّ كَرَائِمَ الْقُرْآنِ
>
> and God revealed the noblest [verses] from the Qurʾan about Ali.[52]

Dīk al-Jinn says in *al-Kāmilah*:

إِنَّ النَّبِيَّ لَمْ يَزَلْ يَقُولُ وَالْخَيْرُ مَا فَاهَ بِهِ الرَّسُولُ
إِنَّكَ مِنِّي يَا أَخِي وَيَا عَلِي بِحَيْثُ مِنْ مُوسَى وَهَارُونَ النَّبِي
لَكِنَّهُ لَيْسَ نَبِي بَعْدِي فَأَنْتَ خَيْرُ الْعَالَمِينَ عِنْدِي[53]

The Prophet kept saying, and good is always whatever the Messenger utters;
"Surely, you are to me, O my brother, O Ali, as Aaron the prophet was to Moses.
Except that there is no prophet after me; thus, you are the best for me out of all the worlds."

Ibn Makkī says:

أَلَمْ تَعْلَمُوا أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ مُحَمَّداً بِحَيْدَرَةٍ أَوْصَى وَلَمْ يَسْكُنِ الرَّمْسَا 1
وَقَالَ لَهُمْ وَالْقَوْمُ فِي خُمٍّ حُصَّراً وَيَتْلُوا الَّذِي فِيهِ وَقَدْ مَسُّوا مَسَّا 2
عَلِيٌّ كَزِرِّي مِنْ قَمِيصِي وَإِنَّهُ نَصِيرِي وَمِنِّي مِثْلُ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى. 3

1. Do you not know that Muhammad, the Prophet, had appointed Ḥaydar as executor before even settling in his grave?!
2. And he said to his people who were detained at [Ghadīr] Khumm reciting what was about [Ali], their having whispered much:
3. "Ali is like the button of my shirt, he is my assistant and is to me as Aaron was to Moses."

ʿAwnī's Couplets on the Status Hadith

And ʿAwnī says:

هَذَا أَخِي مَوْلَاكُمْ وَإِمَامُكُمْ وَهُوَ الْخَلِيفَةُ إِنْ لَقِيتُ حِمَامَا 1
مِنِّي كَمَا هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى فَلَا تَأْلُوا الْحَقَّ إِمَامِكُمْ إِعْظَامَا 2
إِنْ كَانَ هَارُونَ النَّبِيِّ لِقَوْمِهِ مَا غَابَ مُوسَى سَيِّداً وَإِمَامَا 3
فَهُوَ الْخَلِيفَةُ وَالْإِمَامُ وَخَيْرُ مَنْ أَمْضَى الْقَضَاءَ وَخَفَّفَ الْاِقْلَامَا.[34] 4

1 This brother of mine is your Master and Imam, and he is the Caliph if I meet death.
2 [He is] to me as Aaron was to Moses! So, O people, be not negligent in respecting your Imam's right!
3 As whenever Moses was away, Aaron, the prophet, was the Master, the leader and Imam for his people,
4 So is Ali the successor and Imam by me, and he is the best man to promulgate the judgment and mitigate the decrees.

ʿAwnī also says:

أَمَا رُوِيتَ يَا بَعِيدَ الذِّهْنِ مَا قَالَهُ أَحْمَدُ كَالْمُهَنِّي
أَنْتَ كَهَارُونَ لِمُوسَى مِنِّي إِذْ قَالَ مُوسَى لِأَخِيهِ اخْلُفْنِي
فَاسْتَلْهُمْ لِمَ خَالَفُوا الْوَصِيَّا.

"O unintelligent one! Have you not been related what Aḥmad said as if congratulatorily?! 'You are to me as Aaron was to Moses when Moses said to his brother: "Succeed me."' So ask them why they disobeyed the Executor!"

Odes by Poets about Imam Ali's Appointment as Aide

Ibn al-Aṭyas says:

مَنْ قَالَ فِيهِ الْمُصْطَفَى مُعْلِنًا أَنْتَ لَهُ الْحَوْضُ لَدَى الْحَشْرِ 1
أَنْتَ أَخِي أَنْتَ وَصِيِّي كَمَا هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى فِي الْأَمْرِ.[55] 2

1. About whom the chosen one (Muṣṭafā) said, announcing: "The Pool is yours at the Resurrection!
2. You are my brother. You are my executor, as Aaron was to Moses in terms of mandate!"

Manṣūr Nimrī says

رَضِيتُ حُكْمَكَ لَا أَبْغِي بِهِ بَدَلًا لِأَنَّ حُكْمَكَ بِالتَّوْفِيقِ مَقْرُونُ 1
آلُ الرَّسُولِ خِيَارُ النَّاسِ كُلِّهِمِ وَخَيْرُ آلِ رَسُولِ اللهِ هَارُونُ. 2

1. I am satisfied with your rule, I want no alternative to it, because your rule is linked to success.
2. The Messenger's Family are the best of all people, and the best of the Messenger's Family is Aaron!

And Abān Lāḥiqī says:

أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا الْخَالِقُ الرَّازِقُ الْكَبِيرُ 1
مُحَمَّدٌ عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُ جَاءَ بِحَقٍّ عَلَيْهِ نُورُ 2
وَإِنَّ هَارُونَ مُرْتَضَانَا فِي الْعِلْمِ مَا إِنَّ لَهُ نَظِيرُ. 3

1. I bear witness that there is no god except the Creator, the Provider, the Great.
2. Muhammad is His servant and Messenger. He brought a truth upon which there is Light.
3. Aaron our Murtaḍā is unequalled in knowledge.

And Sāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād says:

وَصَيَّرَهُ هَارُونَهُ بَيْنَ قَوْمِهِ كَهَارُونَ مُوسَى فَابْحَثُوا وَتَدَلَّوا.[56]

"And he made him his Aaron, among his people, like Moses's Aaron, so seek [him] out and cling [to him]."

And Ṣāhib Ibn ʿAbbād also says:

حالُهُ حالَةَ هَارُونَ لِمُوسَى فَافْهَمَاهَا.

"His status is as Aaron's was to Moses, so understand it."

Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn says:

وَمَنْ شَرَّفَ الْأَقْوَامَ يَوْماً بِرَأْيِهِ فَإِنَّ عَلِيّاً شَرَّفَتْهُ الْمَنَاقِبُ 1
وَقَوْلُ رَسُولِ اللهِ وَالْحَقُّ قَوْلُهُ وَإِنْ رَغِمَتْ مِنْهُ أُنُوفُ كَوَاذِبُ 2
بِأَنَّكَ مِنِّي يَا عَلِيُّ مَعَالُنَا كَهَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى أَخٌ لِي وَصَاحِبُ. 3

1. And who honored nations, one day, with his view, because Ali was honored by virtues
2. And God's Messenger's words and truth is what he said; even when it spited liars!
3. "That you are to me, O Ali, our object of trust, as Aaron was to Moses—a brother and companion to me."

And Ṣanawbarī says:

أَلَيْسَ مَنْ حَلَّ مِنْهُ فِي أُخُوَّتِهِ مَحَلَّ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى بْنِ عِمْرَانَ؟

"Is he not he who in his fraternity to him occupied the position Aaron did in relation to Moses son of Amram?'

Ibn Shahr Āshūb also says:

In his book called *Fīmā Nazala min al-Qur'ān fi Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (*Concerning That of the Qur'an Which Was Revealed about Imam Ali*), Abū Bakr Shīrāzī relates from Muqātil, from ʿAṭā', regarding interpretation of the verse:

ولقد اتينا موسى الكتاب

Our already having given Moses the Book:

كَانَ فِي التَّوْرَاةِ: يَا مُوسَى إِنِّي اخْتَرْتُكَ، وَوَزِيراً هُوَ أَخُوكَ يَعْنِي هَارُونَ لأَبِيكَ وَأُمِّكَ كَمَا اخْتَرْتُ لِمُحَمَّدٍ إِيَّاهُ وَأَخُوهُ وَوَزِيرُهُ وَوَصِيُّهُ وَالْخَلِيفَةُ مِن بَعْدِهِ. طُوبَى لَكُمَا مِن أَخَوَيْنِ، وَطُوبَى لَهُمَا مِن أَخَوَيْنِ؛ إِيَّا أَبُو السِّبْطَيْنِ الْحَسَنِ وَالْحُسَيْنِ وَمُحْسِنٍ الثَّالِثِ مِن وُلْدِهِ كَمَا جَعَلْتُ لأَخِيكَ هَارُونَ شُبَّراً وَشُبَيْراً وَمُشَبِّراً.[57]

The Torah said:

> O Moses! I have chosen you and an aide. He is your own brother, meaning your full sibling Aaron, just as I have chosen Ilyā for Muhammad. He will be his brother, aide, executor, and successor after him. What good brothers you are! And what good brothers they will be! Ilyā will be the father of two sons, Hasan and Husayn, and Muḥsin will be the third of his sons, just as I have assigned for your brother, Aaron, Shubbar, Shubbayr, and Mushabbir.

Tafsīr al-Qaṭṭān, Wakīᶜ Ibn Jarrāḥ, ᶜAṭāʾ Khorāsānī, and Aḥmad, *Faḍāʾil*, say:

Ibn ᶜAbbās said:

I heard Asmāʾ Bint ᶜUmays say:

I heard God's Messenger say:

اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أَقُولُ كَمَا قَالَ مُوسَى بْنُ عِمْرَانَ: اللَّهُمَّ اجْعَلْ لِي وَزِيراً مِن أَهْلِي يَكُونُ لِي صِهْراً وَخَتَناً.[58]

> "O God! As Moses son of Amram said, so say I: O God! Appoint for me an aide from my family, to be an in-law—a son-in-law for me."

In *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥābah* Samᶜānī relates via his chain from Maṭar, from Anas, that God's Messenger said:

إِنَّ خَلِيلِي وَوَزِيرِي وَخَلِيفَتِي فِي أَهْلِي وَخَيْرَ مَن أَتْرُكُ بَعْدِي؛ مَنْ يُنْجِزُ مَوْعِدِي، وَيَقْضِي دَيْنِي عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ[59]

"Indeed my friend, my aide, and my successor among the family, and the best [man] I will leave behind, who will fulfill my covenant, is Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib."

In *Amālī*, Abū Ṣalt Ahvāzī, says via his chain from Anas that God's Messenger stated:

إنَّ أخِي، وَوَزِيرِي، وَوَصِيِّي، وَخَلِيفَتِي فِي أهْلِي عَلِيُّ بنُ أبِي طالِبٍ. وفي خبر: أنتَ الإمامُ بَعدِي، والأمِيرُ، وأنْتَ الصَّاحِبُ بَعدِي، والوَزِيرُ، ومالَكَ فِي أمَّتِي مِن نَظِيرٍ.[60] والوَزِيرُ مِنَ الوَزَرِ، وَهُوَ المَلْجَأُ وَبِهِ سُمِّيَ الجَبَلُ العَظِيمُ. وَمِنَ الأوْزَارِ، وَهِيَ الامْتِعَةُ وَالاسْلِحَةُ، لأنَّهُ مُقَلِّدُ خَزائِنِ المَلِكِ. وَمِنَ الوِزْرِ الَّذِي هُوَ الذَّنْبُ، لأنَّهُ يَتَحَمَّلُ أثْقَالَ المَلِكِ. وَمِنَ الأزْرِ، وَهُوَ الظَّهْرُ مَعْنَاهُ اشْدُدْ بِهِ ظَهْرِي.[61]

"Truly my brother, my aide, my executor, and my successor in my family is Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib." Another hadith says: "You are the Imam after me, and the Master (*amīr*), and you are the boss (*ṣāḥib*) after me, and the aide (*wazīr*)! And there is no parallel to you in my nation!"

The Four Definitions of *Wazīr*

And then, concerning the definition of *wazīr*, he says: "*Wazīr* comes from *wazar*, meaning shelter. That is why a great mountain is called [a *wazar*]. [It also comes] from *awzār*, meaning belongings and weapons, because he takes on the responsibility of the kings' treasures, and from *azr*, which is a person's back, meaning 'strengthen my back through him.'"

Ibn al-Ḥajjāj says:

أنَا مَوْلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلِي وَالإمَامَيْنِ شُبَّرٍ وَشُبَيْرِ 1
أنَا مَوْلَى وَزِيرِ أحْمَدَ يَا مَنْ قَدْ حَبَا مُلْكَهُ بِخَيْرِ وَزِيرِ.[62] 2

1. I am the servant of Muhammad, Ali, and the two Imams: Shubbar and Shubbayr.
2. I am the servant of Aḥmad's aide. O you who made a gift to his best kingdom of the best aide.

Ḥimyarī says:

وَكَانَ لَهُ أخاً وَأمِينَ غَيْبٍ عَلَى الوَحْيِ المُنَزَّلِ حِينَ يُوحَى 1
وَكَانَ لأحْمَدِ الهَادِي وَزِيراً كَمَا هَارُونُ كَانَ وَزِيرَ مُوسَى.[63] 2

1. [Ali] was a brother to him, and a trustee of the revelation revealed when revelation came.
2. And he was an aide to Aḥmad the Prophet, the Guide; as Aaron was an aide to Moses.

Ustādh Abū al-ᶜAbbās Ḍabbī says:

لِعَلِيٍّ الطُّهْرِ الشَّهِيرِ تَجَدُّ أَنَافَ عَلَى ثَبِيرٍ صِنْوِ النَّبِيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ وَوَصِيُّهُ يَوْمَ الْغَدِيرِ

Pure, renowned Ali has glory more exalted than [Mount] Thabīr; twin [sapling] to the Prophet Muhammad, and his executor on the Day of Ghadīr.

Another poet says:

مَنْ كَانَ صَاهَرَهُ وَكَانَ وَزِيرَهُ وَأَبَا بَنِيهِ مُحَمَّداً مُحْتَارا.[64]

He who was the Prophet's son-in-law was chosen Muhammad's aide and the father to his scions.

Sunni Opinion on the Status Tradition

ᶜAlā' al-Dīn Abū al-Makārim Simnānī Bayāḍī Makkī (d. 736 AH) says in his book *al-ᶜUrwat al-Wuthqā*:

The Prophet said to Ali:

أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي.

"You are to me as Aaron to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."

And at Ghadīr Khumm, after the Farewell Pilgrimage, in the presence of a crowd of Migrants and Supporters, he said, holding Ali by the shoulder:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ، اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ.

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master; O God, be a friend to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy!"

This hadith is unanimously agreed to be authentic.

Thus, he became the Chief of Masters, and his heart was on Muhammad's heart, greeting and peace be upon him.

Abū Bakr, who accompanied the Prophet in the cave, made a similar allusion when he sent Abū ᶜUbaydah Jarrāḥ to summon Ali to pledge allegiance; Ali had said to him:

يا أبا عُبَيدَة! أنتَ أمينُ هَذِهِ الامّة أبعثُكَ إلى مَن هُوَ فِي مَرتَبَة مَن قَدَمَناهُ بالامسِ، ينبَغِي أن تتكلّمَ عِندَهُ بِحُسنِ الادَب.[65]

"O Abū ʿUbaydah, you are the trustee to this nation! I am sending you to one who was of the level of the one we lost yesterday; you should speak politely in his presence!"

Abū Mashkūr Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Saʿīd Ibn Muhammad Kashshī Sālimī Ḥanafī, in *al-Tamhīd fī Bayān al-Tawḥīd*, says:

The Shiʿa (*rawāfid*) say: The Imamate was designated by the Prophet to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as evidenced by the fact that the Prophet made him personal executor and made him his successor after him, because he said:

أمَا تَرضَى أن تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنزِلَة هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى إلّا أنَّهُ لا نَبِيَّ بَعدِي.

"Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me!"

Next, Aaron was [to be] Moses's successor, so Ali was God's Messenger's successor.

This is one aspect. Another aspect is that on the way back from Mecca, the Prophet stopped at Ghadīr Khumm, and appointed him as the people's Master. The Prophet ordered that camels' saddles be collected together. He then built them up like a pulpit, climbed on top, and said:

أَلَستُ أَولَى بِالمُؤمِنِينَ مِن أنفُسِهِم؟! قَالُوا: نَعَم! قَالَ عَلَيهِ السَّلامُ:
مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ، فَعَلِي مَولاهُ! اللّهُمَّ وَالِ مَن وَالاهُ! وَعادِ مَن عَاداهُ! وَانصُر مَن نَصَرَهُ! وَاخذُل مَن خَذَلَهُ.

"Do I not have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?" They answered: "Yes." He then said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master; O God, be a friend to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy; help whoever helps him, and forsake whoever forsakes him!"

And God, the Honorable and Exalted, states:

إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَوٰةَ وَيُؤتُونَ الزَّكَوٰةَ وَهُم رَٰكِعُونَ.

Your Guardian can only be God; His Messenger, and those who believe, who establish prayer and give charity while bowing (5:55).

This verse was revealed about Ali, and it proves that after God's Messenger, Ali has the greatest authority over all people.

After setting out the Shiʿa argument, he responds by saying:

As for the Shiʿa claim that the Prophet appointed him as Master, he meant in his time, i.e. after Othman, in Muʿāwiyah's time, and we say the same. Similarly, with regard to the verse *Your Guardian can only be God; His Messenger, and those who believe...*, we say that Ali was Master and Commander, as evidenced by this, in his days and in his time, i.e. after Othman, but not before him.[66]

Note that this man could not create any doubt in the authenticity of this chain of transmission or that it proves the Imam's Imamate and Guardianship. So he instead interprets it in a way that a child can see is fallacious.

Sunni Proclamations Concerning the Status Hadith

Shaykh Sulaymān Qundūzī Ḥanafī relates from the book *Mawaddat al-Qurbā*, from Anas Ibn Mālik, attributing to the Prophet (*marfūʿan*), that God's Messenger said:

إِنَّ اللهَ اصْطَفَانِي عَلَى الْأَنْبِيَاءِ فَاخْتَارَنِي وَاخْتَارَ لِي وَصِيًا، وَاخْتَرْتُ ابْنَ عَمِّي وَصِيِي، يَشُدُّ عَضُدِي كَمَا يَشُدُّ مُوسَى بِأَخِيهِ هَارُونَ، وَهُوَ خَلِيفَتِي وَوَزِيرِي، وَلَوْ كَانَ بَعْدِي نَبِي لَكَانَ عَلِي نَبِيًا وَلَكِنْ لَا نُبُوَّةَ بَعْدِي.[67]

God has chosen me above all the [other] prophets, and selected me and selected an executor for me, and I selected my cousin as executor, to strengthen my upper arm, as Moses was strengthened by his brother, Aaron. And he is my successor and aide, and if there were to be any prophet after me, it would be surely Ali. However, there is no prophecy after me.

And Mīr Sayyid Ali Hamedānī relates in *Mawaddat al-Qurbā*, from Abū Mūsā al-Ḥamīdī, [who] said:

I was with God's Messenger, Abū Bakr, [Omar], Othman, and Ali. God's Messenger then turned to Abū Bakr and said: "O Abū Bakr! Surely this man, whom you see, is my aide in Heaven, and my aide on earth." (He meant Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.) "O Abū Bakr, if you want to meet God, with

Him satisfied with you, make Ali content! Because his contentment is God's contentment, and his wrath is God's wrath."[68]

And in Mawaddah 7, [Hamedānī] relates from Imam Ṣādiq, quoting his forefathers as saying:

لَقَدْ قَالَ النَّبِي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم لِعَلِي عليه السلام فِي عَشَرَةِ مَوَاضِعَ: أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى.[69]

"On ten different occasions, the Prophet said to Ali 'You are to me as Aaron was to Moses.'"

Also in *Yanābiʿ al-Mawaddah* he relates from *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, from ʿAṭiyyah ʿAwfi, from Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, that God's Messenger stated to Ali:

أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِي بَعْدِي.[70]

"You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."

Similarly, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal relates from Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, from Asmāʾ Bint ʿUmays, from Saʿīd Ibn Zayd Tirmidhī, from Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib, from Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, that God's Messenger stated to Ali:

أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى

"You are to me as Aaron was to Moses." Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal says: "This hadith is authentic."[71]

He also relates from Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad Khārazmī, via his chain from Makhdūj Ibn Zayd al-Hānī, and via another chain from Yaḥyā and Mujāhid, who both relate that God's Messenger said:

هَذَا عَلِي لَحْمُهُ لَحْمِي وَدَمُهُ دَمِي وَهُوَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي.[72]

"This Ali's flesh is my flesh and blood is my blood; and he is to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."

He also narrates from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad, via their two chains, that Zayd Ibn Abī Awfā said:

I went to see God's Messenger in his Mosque, after he had made his companions brothers to each other.

Ali asked: "O God's Messenger! You have done it to your companions but not done it to me?"

[God's Messenger] answered:

وَالَّذِي بَعَثَنِي بِالْحَقِّ نَبِيّاً أَخَّرْتُكَ لِنَفْسِي فَإِنَّكَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى، إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي، فَأَنْتَ أَخِي وَوَارِثِي، وَأَنْتَ مَعِي فِي قَصْرِي فِي الْجَنَّةِ مَعَ ابْنَتِي فَاطِمَةَ وَأَنْتَ رَفِيقِي، ثُمَّ قَرَأَ: «إِخْوَاناً عَلَى سُرُرٍ مُتَقَابِلِينَ» الْمُتَحَابُّونَ فِي اللهِ يَنْظُرُ بَعْضُهُمْ إِلَى بَعْضٍ.[73]

By Him Who sent me with the truth as a prophet, I have saved you for last for myself, because you are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me. So, you are my brother and my inheritor. You will be with me with my daughter Fāṭimah in my palace in Paradise! And you are my companion!

He then recited: "*As brothers, on couches, face to face* (15:47), loving each other, for God's sake, looking at each other."

Ibn al-Maghāzilī and Ḥamwīnī relate this hadith from Zayd Ibn Arqam.[74]

Abū al-Muʾayyad Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad Khārazmī Makkī relates via his chain from Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh that God's Messenger said:

يَا عَلِيُّ، إِنَّهُ يَحِلُّ لَكَ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ مَا يَحِلُّ لِي وَإِنَّكَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي، وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ إِنَّكَ تَذُودُ عَنْ حَوْضِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ رِجَالًا، كَمَا يُذَادُ الْبَعِيرُ الْأَجْرَبُ عَنِ الْمَاءِ بِعَصَا أَلْكَ مِن عَوْسَجٍ[75]، كَأَنِّي أَنْظُرُ إِلَى مَقَامِكَ مِنْ حَوْضِي.[76]

O Ali! In the Mosque, whatever is permissible for me is permissible for you, and you are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me. By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, surely on the Day of Resurrection, you will drive men back away from the Pool with a stick of yours of [wood] from a thistle tree, the way a camel is driven back from the water. It is as if I can see you now standing by my Pool.

Zawāʾid Musnad ʿAbdillāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal relates from Yaḥyā Ibn ʿĪsā, from Aʿmash, from ʿIbāyah Asadī, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that God's Messenger said to Umm Salamah:

يَا أُمَّ سَلَمَةَ عَلِيٌّ مِنِّي وَأَنَا مِن عَلِيٍّ لَحْمُهُ لَحْمِي، وَدَمُهُ مِن دَمِي، وَهُوَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى، يَا أُمَّ سَلَمَةَ اسْمَعِي وَاشْهَدِي، هَذَا عَلِيٌّ سَيِّدُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ.[77]

"O Umm Salamah! Ali is part of me, and I am part of Ali! His flesh is my flesh, and his blood is my blood. He is to me as Aaron was to

Moses. O Umm Salamah, listen and bear witness! This Ali is the Master of the Muslims!"

Imam Ali's Characteristics

Al-Manāqib relates from Jābir Ibn ᶜAbdillāh that he said:

> I heard God's Messenger say: "Ali has such characteristics, if just one of which were possessed by any other man, it would be enough of a merit and honor for him!"
>
> He said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master."
>
> He said: "Ali is to me as Aaron was to Moses."
>
> He said: "Ali is part of me and I am part of Ali," as well his statement:
>
> عَلِيٌّ مِنِّي كَنَفْسِي، طَاعَتُهُ طَاعَتِي، وَمَعْصِيَتُهُ مَعْصِيَتِي
>
> "Ali is like my own self to me. To obey him is to obey me; and to disobey him is to disobey me."
>
> He said:
>
> حَرْبُ عَلِيٍّ حَرْبُ اللهِ، وَسِلْمُ عَلِيٍّ سِلْمُ اللهِ
>
> "War with Ali is war with God; and to be at peace with Ali is to be at peace with God."
>
> He said:
>
> وَلِيُّ عَلِيٍّ وَلِيُّ اللهِ، وَعَدُوُّ عَلِيٍّ عَدُوُّ اللهِ
>
> "Whoever accepts Ali as Master accepts God as Master, and whoever is an enemy to Ali is an enemy of God."
>
> He said: "Ali is God's Proof over His servants."
>
> He said: "Love for Ali is faith, and hatred for him is disbelief."
>
> He said: "Ali's party is God's party, and his enemy's party is Satan's party."
>
> He said: "Ali is with the truth, and the truth is with him; they never separate."
>
> He said: "Ali allocates Heaven and Hell!"

He said: "Whoever leaves Ali leaves me, and whoever leaves me leaves God."

He said: "Ali's followers will be victorious on the Day of Resurrection."[78]

Having related this blessed hadith from Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh al-Anṣārī, how appropriate it would be for us to quote statements uttered by God's Messenger, all of which begin with: "O, Ali..."

Suyūṭī relates in *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr*, from Ṭabarānī, from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Omar that God's Messenger said: "Ali is my brother in this world and the Hereafter."

It is related from Ṭabarānī and Ḍiyāʾ, from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Jaʿfar, from God's Messenger, that he said: "Ali is my root and Jaʿfar is my branch."

It is related from Ḥākim in *al-Mustadrak* from Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh: "Ali is the Imam of the good and the slayer of the wicked. Whoever assists him will be assisted, but whoever forsakes him will be forsaken."

Dāraquṭnī relates in *al-Ifrād* from ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās, [who] said: "God's Messenger said: 'Ali is the Gate of Remission. Whoever enters through it is a believer, but whoever exits from it is an unbeliever.'"

Ibn ʿAdī relates in *al-Kāmil* from Ibn ʿAbbās, [who] said: "God's Messenger said: 'Ali is the repository of my knowledge.'"

Ṭabarānī relates in *al-Awsaṭ* and Ḥākim relates in *al-Mustadrak* from Umm Salamah, [who] said: "God's Messenger said: 'Ali is with the Qurʾan and the Qurʾan is with Ali. They will never separate until they come to me at the Pool.'"

Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, Tirmidhī, Nasāʾī, and Ibn Mājah relate from Ḥubshī Ibn Junādah: "Ali is part of me, and I am part of Ali. No one but Ali delivers on my behalf."

Khaṭīb in *Tārīkh Baghdād* and Daylamī in *Musnad al-Firdaws* narrate from Ibn ʿAbbās: "Ali is to me as my head is to my body!"

Abū Bakr al-Muṭayrī related in *Juzʾ* from Abū Saʿīd Khudrī: "Ali is to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."

Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥābah narrates from Daylamī, *Musnad al-Firdaws*, from Anas: "Ali shines in Heaven like the morning star for the people of earth!"

Muḥāmilī narrates in his *Amālī* from Ibn ʿAbbās: "Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is the Master of whoever's Master I am."

Ibn ʿAdī relates in *al-Kāmil* from Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib: "Ali is the drone of the believers, and money is the drone of the hypocrites."

Bazzāz relates from Anas: "Ali will repay my debt!"[79]

Imam ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Munāwī relates from ʿAbd al-Razzāq in *Jāmiʿ* that God's Messenger stated: "Rejoice, Ali! Your life and death will be with mine!"[80]

Majlisī says:

> Corroboration of these hadiths, which say that Ali is as Aaron was to Moses, is what Sayyid Raḍī, may God be pleased with him, relates from Imam Ali in *Nahj al-Balāghah*, in the section on the distinctions conferred on the Imam by the Prophet. The Imam says:
>
> > God's Messenger stated:
> >
> > إِنَّكَ تَسْمَعُ مَا أَسْمَعُ، وَتَرَى مَا أَرَى، إِلَّا أَنَّكَ لَسْتَ بِنَبِيٍّ، وَلَكِنَّكَ وَزِيرٌ، وَإِنَّكَ عَلَى خَيْرٍ.[81]
> >
> > "Surely, you hear whatever I hear, and see what I see, except that you are not a prophet! However, you are an aide and you are surely on [the] good [side]!"

And Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, says in his *Sharḥ*, after relating the hadiths corroborative of that:

> Probative of the fact that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was God's Messenger's aide is the explicit statement in the Scripture and Sunnah:
>
> وَاجْعَلْ لِي وَزِيرًا مِنْ أَهْلِي هَارُونَ أَخِي اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي.
>
> *And appoint for me an aide from my family—Aaron, my brother. Strengthen my back through him and make him share my task* (20:29–32), and that which is unanimously agreed by all Islamic sects to have been related from God's Messenger:
>
> أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي.
>
> "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me!"
>
> In this statement, he has predicated of Ali everything that Aaron was to Moses; thus, he was God's Messenger's aide and strengthened his back. He would have shared his mandate if the Prophet had not been the Seal of the Prophets.[82]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says elsewhere:

On the Day of Council, Ali said:

أفِيكُم أحَدٌ قَالَ لَهُ رَسولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وَآله وسلم أنتَ مِنِّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هَارونَ مِن مُوسَى إلّا أنَّهُ لا نَبِيَ بَعدِي غَيرِي، قالُوا: لا،[83]

"Is there anyone else among you about whom God's Messenger said: 'You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?'" They answered: "No!"

The Status Hadith and Ali's Virtues in the Prophet's Words upon Victory at Khaybar

Karājikī narrates in *Kanz al-Fawā'id*, via his unbroken chain from Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh Anṣārī, who said:

When Ali breached Khaybar, he went to God's Messenger, and the Prophet told him:

لَولَا أن تَقُولَ فِيكَ طَائِفَةٌ مِن أمَّتِي ما قَالَتِ النَّصَارَى فِي المَسِيحِ ابنِ مَريَمَ، لَقُلتُ فِيكَ اليَومَ مَقالًا لا تَمُرُّ بِمَلأٍ إلّا أخَذُوا التُّرابَ مِن تَحتِ قَدَمَيكَ وَمِن فَضلِ طَهُورِكَ فَاستَشفَوا بِهِ؛ وَلٰكِن حَسبُكَ أن تَكُونَ مِنِّي وَأنَا مِنكَ، تَرِثُنِي وَأرِثُكَ، وَأنتَ مِنِّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هَارونَ مِن مُوسَى إلّا أنَّهُ لا نَبِيَ بَعدِي، وَإنَّكَ تُبرِءُ ذِمَّتِي وَتُقاتِلُ عَلَى سُنَّتِي، وَإنَّكَ غَداً فِي الآخِرَةِ أقرَبُ النَّاسِ مِنِّي، وَإنَّكَ أوَّلُ مَن يَرِدُ عَلَيَّ الحَوضَ وَإنَّكَ عَلَى الحَوضِ خَلِيفَتِي، وَإنَّكَ أوَّلُ مَن يَكسَى مَعِي، وَإنَّكَ أوَّلُ دَاخِلِ الجَنَّةِ مِن أُمَّتِي، وَإنَّ شِيعَتَكَ عَلَى مَنَابِرَ مِن نُورٍ مُبَيَّضَةً وُجُوهُهُم حَولِي، أشفَعُ لَهُم وَيَكُونُونَ غَداً فِي الجَنَّةِ جِيرَانِي، وَإنَّ حَربَكَ حَربِي، وَإنَّ سِلمَكَ سِلمِي، وَإنَّ سَرِيرَتَكَ سَرِيرَتِي، وَعَلَانِيَتَكَ عَلَانِيَتِي، وَإنَّ وُلدَكَ وُلدِي، وَإنَّكَ مُنجِزٌ عِدَاتِي، وَإنَّكَ عَلَمِي، وَلَيسَ أحَدٌ مِنَ الأئِمَّةِ يَعدِلُكَ عِندِي، وَإنَّ الحَقَّ عَلَى لِسَانِكَ، وَفِي قَلبِكَ، وَبَينَ عَينَيكَ، وَإنَّ الإيمَانَ خَالِطٌ لَحمَكَ وَدَمَكَ، كَمَا خَالَطَ لَحمِي وَدَمِي، وَإنَّهُ لا يَرِدُ الحَوضَ مُبغِضٌ لَكَ، وَلا يَغِيبُ مُحِبٌّ لَكَ غَداً عَنِّي حَتَّى يَرِدَ عَلَى الحَوضَ مَعَكَ يا عَلِيُّ، فَخَرَّ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام سَاجِداً، ثُمَّ قَالَ: الحَمدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي مَنَّ عَلَيَّ بِالإسلامِ، وَعَلَّمَنِي القُرآنَ، وَحَبَّبَنِي إلَى خَيرِ البَرِيَّةِ: خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ، وَسَيِّدِ المُرسَلِينَ، إحسَاناً مِنهُ إلَيَّ وَفَضلاً مِنهُ عَلَيَّ. فَقَالَ رَسولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وآله وسلم: يا عَلِيُّ لَولا أنتَ لَم يُعرَفِ المُؤمِنُونَ بَعدِي.

If some of my nation would not say concerning you what they had said about Jesus, son of Mary, I would say about you today something such that you would not be able to pass any crowd, without their taking the dust from under your feet and the water left over after your ablution as a cure. However, it is enough for you to be part of me, and me to be part of you, you to be my heir, and me to be your heir! And you are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me! You will discharge my duty and fight for my tradition, and will, tomorrow in the Hereafter, be the closest person to me! You will be the first to come to me by the Pool as my successor. You will be the first to be garbed with me, and you will be the first of my nation to enter Heaven! And for sure, your followers, their faces brightened, will be around me atop pulpits of light; I will intercede for them, and tomorrow they will be my neighbors in Heaven. Your war is my war, and your peace is my peace; your secret thought is my secret thought! Your public action is my public action! And truly your children are my children!

And you will fulfill my covenant! And you are sublime (*ʿali*) indeed! And none of the nation equals you in my sight!

And surely truth is on your tongue, in your heart, and between your eyes; belief is mixed into your flesh and blood, as it is mixed into my flesh and blood! No one who hates you will reach the Pool, and no one who loves you will be out of my sight, until he comes to me by the Pool with you, Ali.

Thereafter, Ali fell down prostrate, and said: "All praise be to God, Who blessed me with Islam, taught me the Qur'an, and made me beloved to the best of creatures, the Seal of the Prophets, the Master of Envoys, as a kindness from Him to me and a favor from Him to me."

God's Messenger then said: "O Ali! If it were not for you, the believers would not be known after I am gone!"

Leading Sunnis Narrate the Status Hadith

In any case, the hadith of:

أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي

is known to both Sunni and Shiʿa scholars as the Status Hadith; it is one of those hadiths that were indisputably uttered by (*al-musallam ṣudūrihā ʿan*) God's Messenger. Both sects believe it to be indubitable. We can consider it to be one of the limited number of hadiths attributed word for word by an indubitably large number of sources to

God's Messenger. No book of exegesis, hadith, history, biography, or tradition fails to relate this prophetic hadith in several places.

In *Ghāyat al-Marām*, chapter eighty-three, Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī relates thirteen hadiths from the Sunnis, and in chapter eighty-four, twenty-four hadiths from the Shiᶜa, saying that Ali is God's Messenger's aide and heir. Similarly, in chapter twenty he relates one hundred hadiths from the Sunnis, and in chapter twenty-one, seventy hadiths citing the chains, sources, and uninterruptedness between narrators, that God's Messenger said to Ali:

أنتَ مِنِّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هَارونَ مِن مُوسَى إلَّا أنَّه لا نَبِي بَعدِي!

"You are to me as Aaron is to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."

We now cite several Sunni hadiths and several Shiᶜa ones.

Via his unbroken chain, ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal relates that Mūsā Juhanī said:

> I went to see Fāṭimah (daughter of Imam Ali), and my companion, Abū Mahdī, asked: "How old are you?"
>
> So I replied: "Eighty-six years old."

Mūsā Juhanī says:

> My friend said: "Have you heard anything from your father?!"
>
> I answered:
>
> > My father said to me:
> >
> > > Fāṭimah narrated to me that Asmāʾ, the daughter of ᶜUmays, related to her that God's Messenger had said to Ali:
> > >
> > > أنتَ مِنِّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هَارونَ مِن مُوسَى إلَّا أنَّه لا نَبِي بَعدِي.
> > >
> > > "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."[84]

ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal related via his unbroken chain from Saᶜīd Ibn Musayyib, from ᶜĀmir Ibn Saᶜd, from his father, Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, who said that he heard God's Messenger say to Ali:

أمَا تَرضَى أن تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى إلَّا أنَّهُ لا نَبِي بَعدِي؟!

"Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?"

Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib says:

> When I heard this hadith from Ibn Saʿd, I wanted to hear it from Saʿd himself, so I found him and told him what ʿĀmir had told me.
>
> I asked: "Did you hear it from God's Messenger?" Thereafter, Saʿd put his fingers in his ears and said: "May [my ears] go deaf if I did not hear it from the Prophet!"[85]

Bukhārī relates the hadith in the last quarter of *Saḥīḥ*, via his unbroken chain from Ibrāhīm Ibn Saʿd, from his father Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.[86]

Also in *Saḥīḥ*, this time in the sixth small volume, halfway through the volume, hadith 5, Bukhārī relates via his unbroken chain from Muṣʿab Ibn Saʿd, from his father, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, that God's Messenger set off for Tabūk and appointed Ali as deputy in Medina. Ali then asked: "Are you leaving me in charge of the children and women?"

So the Prophet replied:

أَلَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَيْسَ نَبِيٌّ بَعْدِي[87]

"Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?"

Razīn says in the third part of the last third of *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣiḥāḥ al-Sittah*, in the chapter on Imam Ali's virtues, quoting *Ṣaḥīḥ Abī Dāwūd* i.e. *Sunan*, and from *Ṣaḥīḥ Tirmidhī*, from Abū Sarīḥah and Zayd Ibn Arqam, that God's Messenger said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master!" And [it is narrated] from Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ that God's Messenger said to Ali: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me!" Ibn Musayyib says:

> ʿĀmir Ibn Saʿd related this hadith to me from his father, but I wanted to hear it from Saʿd [himself], so I found him and asked:
>
> Did you hear this from God's Messenger?
>
> فَوَضَعَ إِصْبَعَهُ فِي أُذُنَيْهِ فَقَالَ: نَعَمْ وَإِلَّا فَاسْتَكَّتَا
>
> He then put his fingers in his ears and said: "Yes, and if not may [my ears] go deaf!"[88]

And he relates from Ibn Maghāzilī, via his unbroken chain from Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh, that God's Messenger went on an expedition, and he said to Ali:

اخْلُفْنِي فِي أَهْلِي، فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، يَقُولُ النَّاسُ: خَذَلَ ابْنَ عَمِّهِ. فَرَدَّدَهَا عَلَيْهِ، فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ: أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي.[89]

"Take my place among my family!" [Ali] said: "O God's Messenger! People will say: 'He has forsaken his cousin!'" He then repeated it to him, so God's Messenger asked: "Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?"

Ibn Maghāzilī relates via his unbroken chain from Muṣʿab Ibn Saʿd, from his father, [who] said:

Muʿāwiyah asked me: "Do you like Ali?"

قَالَ سَعْد: قُلْتُ: وَكَيْفَ لَا أُحِبُّهُ وَقَدْ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ لَهُ: أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي. وَلَقَدْ رَأَيْتُهُ بَارِزًا يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ وَجَعَلَ يُحَمْحِمُ كَتَحْمِحَمِ الْفَرَسِ وَيَقُولُ:

بَازِلُ عَامَيْنِ حَدِيثُ سِنِّي ... سَنَحْتَجُّ اللَّيْلَ كَأَنِّي جِنِّي

لِمِثْلِ هَذَا وَلَدَتْنِي أُمِّي

قَالَ: وَمَا رَجَعَ حَتَّى خُضِبَ دَمًا.[90]

Saʿd says:

I said:

> How can I not like him? After all, I heard God's Messenger say: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me." I certainly saw him advance at the Battle of Badr. He began neighing like a horse, and saying: "[I am as] a [young] two-year-old [camel] who has just grown [milk] teeth [and is ready to chew]; we will stay awake all night as if I am a Jinnī. It is for such [a day] that my mother gave birth to me!"

[The narrator] said: "[Ali] did not return [from battle] until he was blood-stained!"

And Ali Ibn Aḥmad Mālikī, an eminent Sunni scholar, says in *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, quoting from *Khaṣā'iṣ*, that ᶜAbbās Ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib said:

I heard Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb say:

> Stop saying anything but good about Ali, because I heard God's Messenger say [that] Ali has three qualities. I wish more dearly than for anything the sun rises over that I had just one of them! Because I was with Abū Bakr, Abū ᶜUbaydah, Ibn Jarrāḥ, and some of God's Messenger's companions when the Prophet tapped Ali's shoulder and said:

يا عَلِيُّ أنتَ أوَّلُ المُسلِمينَ إسلاماً وأنتَ أوَّلُ المؤمنينَ إيماناً وأنتَ مِنِّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هارونَ مِن
مُوسى، كَذَبَ مَن زَعَمَ أنَّهُ يُحِبُّنِي وَهُوَ مُبغِضُكَ،
يا عَلِيُّ، مَن أحَبَّكَ فَقَدْ أحَبَّنِي، وَمَن أحَبَّنِي أحَبَّهُ اللهُ تَعالى، وَمَن أحَبَّهُ اللهُ أدخَلَهُ الجَنَّةَ،
وَمَن أبغَضَكَ فَقَدْ أبغَضَنِي، وَمَن أبغَضَنِي أبغَضَهُ اللهُ تَعالى وأدخَلَهُ النّارَ.[91]

> O Ali, you were the first of the Muslims to embrace Islam! And you were the first of the believers to believe. And you are to me as Aaron was to Moses. Whoever claims that he loves me, but hates you, is lying! O Ali, whoever loves you, loves me! And whoever loves me, is loved by God, the Exalted! And whomsoever God loves, He has him enter Heaven.
>
> And whoever hates you, hates me! And whoever hates me, is hated by God, the Exalted, and He will have him enter Hell!

Ibn Maghāzilī Shāfiᶜī narrates via his chain from Khālid Ibn Qays, [who] said:

A man asked Muᶜāwiyah about a matter, but Muᶜāwiyah replied: "Ask Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib about it, because he knows better!"

The man said: "O Master of the Faithful [sic], your word on [this matter] is dearer to me than Ali's word!"

Muᶜāwiyah said:

> What a terrible thing you have said, and what a wretched thing you have brought!

كَرِهْتَ رَجُلاً كَانَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه و آله وسلم يَغْرُفُ الْعِلْمَ غَرْفًا؛ وَلَقَدْ قَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ: أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هارونَ مِن مُوسَى إِلا أَنَّهُ لا نَبِيَّ بَعدِي؛ وَلَقَدْ كَانَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ يَسْأَلُهُ فَيَأْخُذُ عَنْهُ؛ وَلَقَدْ شَهِدتُ عُمَرَ إِذَا أُشْكِلَ عَلَيْهِ شَيْءٌ قَالَ: هاهُنَا عَلِي.

قُمْ! لَا أَقَامَ اللهُ رِجْلَيْكَ! وَمَحَى اسْمَهُ مِنَ الدِّيوانِ

وَمَنَاقِبُ شَهِدَ الْعَدُوُّ بِفَضْلِهَا وَالْفَضْلُ مَا شَهِدَتْ بِهِ الْأَعْدَاءُ[92]

You hate a man whom God's Messenger beak-fed knowledge abundantly! God's Messenger told him: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me!"

Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb would always ask him and learn from him, and he received his knowledge from him! I witnessed that Omar, whenever anything confused him, would say: "Bring Ali here."

Stand up! May God not let your feet stand.

He erased his name from the [benefits] register.

Virtues to the merit of which even the enemies testify—and true merit is what even enemies testify to![93]

Shaykh Ṭūsī relates in *al-Amālī* via his unbroken chain from Muhammad Ibn ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir, from Abū Dharr Ghifārī Jundub Ibn Junādah, who said:

I saw God's Messenger take Ali's hand and say:

يا عَلِي! أَنْتَ أَخِي، وَصَفِيِّي، وَوَصِيِّي، وَوَزِيرِي، وَأَمِينِي! مَكَانُكَ فِي حَيَاتِي وَبَعْدَ مَوْتِي كَمَكَانِ هارونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لا نَبِيَّ مَعِي! مَنْ مَاتَ وَهُوَ يُحِبُّكَ خَتَمَ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ بِالْأَمْنِ وَالْإِيمَانِ! وَمَنْ مَاتَ وَهُوَ يُبْغِضُكَ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ فِي الْإِسْلامِ نَصِيبٌ[94]

O Ali! You are my brother, my chosen one, my executor, my aide, and my trustee. Your position, within my lifetime and after my death, is like Aaron's position in relation to Moses—except that there is no prophet with me!

Honorable and Exalted God will seal with safety and faith whoever dies loving you; but whoever dies hating you, will have no share of Islam!

Shaykh Ṭabarsī narrates in *al-Iḥtijāj* that when Imam Ali entered Basra, and brought the Battle of the Camel to an end, some of his companions said: "Ali will not divide the booty equally among us, and does not treat the flock equally..." and raised other issues to which Imam Ali responded in a sermon that he delivered. This sermon is related by Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn al-Hasan, from his father, ʿAbdullāh Ibn al-Hasan, who said:

> When the Master of the Faithful entered Basra, he delivered this sermon a few days after his entry.
>
> But a man stood up before him and said: "O Master of the Faithful, tell me who are the people of consensus (*ahl al-jamāʿah*)? And who are the people of disunity? And who are the people of innovation? And who are the people of tradition?"
>
> The Master of the Faithful said in response to him:
>
> > Woe unto you! If you are asking me, understand from me and you will not have to ask anyone else after me!
> >
> > As for the people of consensus—myself and whoever follows me, even if they are few, and that duty is by Exalted God's command, and by His Messenger's command! As for the people of disunity, they are those opposed to me and to whoever follows me, even if they are many. As for the people of tradition, they are those who cling to whatever traditions God and His Messenger have set for them—even if [those people] are few.
> >
> > As for the people of innovation, they are those who disobey God's Command, Book, and Messenger, who act according to their own opinions and desires, even if [such people] are many.
> >
> > The first wave of them has passed, but other waves remain. It is for God to take them—and eradicate them from the hard, level earth!
>
> ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir stood up before him and said: "O Master of the Faithful! People are talking about the spoils! They are claiming that whoever is fighting against us (the enemy combatants at the Battle of the Camel), he, his property, and children are spoils for us!"
>
> And then [another] man, from [the tribe of] Bakr Ibn Wā'il, who was called ʿAbbād Ibn Qays, stood up before him. He was possessed of eloquence and had a stern tongue, and said: "O Master of the Faithful! By God, you have not shared fairly or treated the flock equally!"

Imam Ali's Sermon after the Battle of the Camel

The Master of the Faithful asked: "Why? Woe unto you!"

The man answered: "Because you shared out everything in the encampment, but left out the property, wives, and children!"

The Master of the Faithful said: "O people! Whoever has a wound should treat it with ointment!"

ʿAbbād Ibn Qays then said: "We have come to demand our spoils, but he is speaking nonsense (*al-turrahāt*)[95] to us!"

So the Master of the Faithful said: "If you are lying, then may God not let you die until a boy from Thaqīf catches up with you!" [He was] asked: "Who is the boy from Thaqīf?!"[96] He answered: "A man who leaves no sacrilege, according to God, uncommitted!"

He was then asked: "Will he die [naturally] or be killed?"

So the Imam replied: "The smiter of the necks of the cruel will smite him with an obscene death in which his anus will burn up from the volume of what flows from his gut."

Then, he stated:

> O brother from [the tribe of] Bakr! You are a man with a flimsy opinion![97] Do you not know that we never punish a child for an adult's sin, and that the properties belonged to them before the schism, that they married validly, and [their children] were born Muslims (*ʿalā al-fiṭrah*)?! You are only entitled to whatever your encampment encloses. That which is in their houses is an inheritance. So, if any of them transgresses, we punish him for his sin; but if he refrains from [harming] us we will not punish him for anyone else's sin! O brother from Bakr! I have passed the same judgment on them as God's Messenger did on the people of Mecca, because he only shared out what was enclosed by the encampment, and did not interfere with anything else; I just followed him precisely (*ḥadhw al-naʿl bi al-naʿl*).[98] O brother from Bakr! Do you not know that anything [seized] on the battlefield is legitimate [spoils]?! On the other hand, everything at the migration destination is illegitimate [spoils] unless it be through entitlement!
>
> So slow down! Slow down, may God have mercy on you! And if you do not believe my word, and have much to say against me (and that was because many spoke up about this), then which of you would take Ayishe in his share?!

As his lecture reached this point, they all said: "O Master of the Faithful! You were right, and we were wrong! You know, and we are ignorant! Now, we seek Transcendent God's forgiveness!"

The people all shouted out from every side: "You are right, O Master of the Faithful. God made correctness and rightness be achieved through you!"

Next ʿAbbād stood up and said:

> O people! By God, if you follow and obey him, he will not mislead you even a hair's breadth from your Prophet's watering hole! How can that not be, when God's Messenger has entrusted him with the knowledge of times of death, arbitrations, and unmistakable judgments in the [same] way [as] Aaron, and he said to him: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me!" a favor that God has bestowed upon him, and an honor from Him for His Prophet, because He has given him what He has not given any of His other creatures!

Then Imam Ali said:

> May God have mercy on you, look what you have been commanded and proceed to it! Because a knowledgeable person knows better what he does than the lowliest lowly ignorant person! So I am carrying you, God-willing, if you obey me, on the path of salvation; even though there is severe hardship and much bitterness on it, and the world is sweet in its sweetness for whoever is deluded by it—wretchedness and regret for what is fleeting!
>
> Next, I tell you that their Prophet commanded one generation of Israelites not to drink from the river, but all but a few of them insisted on disobeying his order. So may God have mercy on you, be of those who have obeyed their Prophet, and have not disobeyed their Lord!

Ayishe's Grudge against Ali

وأمّا عائشة فأدركها رأي النساء، ولها بعد ذلك حرمتها الاولى، والحساب على الله، يعفو عمّن يشاء ويعذّب من يشاء.[99]

And as for Ayishe, women's opinion took grasp of her; however, she will be allowed her original respect, and it is for God to reckon her; He forgives whomever He pleases, and punishes whomever He pleases!

Mullā Ali Muttaqī cites this sermon in full in *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl*; however, he says it was ᶜAmmār Ibn Yāsir who stood up and said:

> O people! By God, if you follow and obey him, he will not mislead you even a hair's breadth from your Prophet's watering hole! How can that not be, when God's Messenger entrusted him with the knowledge of times of death, arbitrations, and unmistakable judgments in the same way as Aaron, and he said to him: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."

He says: "So ᶜAmmār stood up and said: 'O people...'" and I believe that this is correct for two reasons: firstly because it is more likely that Imam Ali would have been given this kind of introduction by ᶜAmmār Yāsir, who has fine precedents, than by an unknown man called ᶜAbbād from the tribe of Bakr, especially considering that the latter had initially stood up and objected viciously and vehemently to the Imam. Secondly, when handwritten, ᶜAmmār

عمار

often looks like ᶜAbbād

عباد

It is likely that the copyist [mistakenly] read ᶜAbbād instead of ᶜAmmār while scribing; the same applies to *al-Iḥtijāj* and *Ghāyat al-Marām*.

Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl says that he said about Ayishe:

وَأَمَّا عَائِشَةُ فَقَدْ أَدْرَكَهَا رَأْيُ النِّسَاءِ وَشَيْءٌ كَانَ فِي نَفْسِهَا عَلَيَّ يَغْلِي فِي جَوْفِهَا كَالْمِرْجَلِ، وَلَوْ دُعِيَتْ لِتَنَالَ مِنْ غَيْرِي مَا أَتَيْتُ بِهِ إِلَيَّ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ، وَلَهَا بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ حُرْمَتُهَا الْأُولَى، وَالْحِسَابُ عَلَى اللهِ، يَعْفُو عَمَّنْ يَشَاءُ، وَيُعَذِّبُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ.[100]

> And as for Ayishe, women's opinion took grasp of her and something against me was inside her, boiling in her heart (*jawfihā*) like a cauldron. If she were incited to defame another as she had done to me, she would not do so; however, she will be allowed her original respect, and it is for God to reckon her; He forgives whomever He pleases, and punishes whomever He pleases.

Sharīf Raḍī, may God have mercy on him, quotes this part of the sermon as follows:

وَأَمَّا فُلَانَةُ فَأَدْرَكَهَا رَأْيُ النِّسَاءِ، وَضِغْنٌ غَلَا فِي صَدْرِهَا كَمِرْجَلِ الْقَيْنِ، وَلَوْ دُعِيَتْ لِتَنَالَ مِنْ غَيْرِي مَا أَتَتْ إِلَيَّ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ، وَلَهَا بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ حُرْمَتُهَا الْأُولَى وَالْحِسَابُ عَلَى اللهِ تَعَالَى.[101]

As regards a certain woman, she is in the grip of womanly views, and malice is boiling in her bosom like the furnace of the blacksmith. If she were called upon to defame others as she has done to me, she would not have done it. (As for me), even hereafter she will be allowed her original respect, while the reckoning (of her misdeeds) is an obligation on God.

It means, because of her jealousy of and grudge against me, she was always boiling like a pot in a forge's furnace; and this is what caused her to stand against me: to ride a camel, and command twelve thousand men on the advance to Basra, and hoist the flag of opposition! Were it not for her jealousy of me, she would not act so against me!

The Instructions of Ali, the Master of the Faithful, on How to Divide the Spoils at the Battle of the Camel

When the Battle of the Camel ended, Imam Ali's herald announced:

أَلَا لَا يُجْهَزُ عَلَى جَرِيحٍ، وَلَا يُتْبَعُ مُوَلٍّ، وَلَا يُطْعَنُ فِي وَجْهِ مُدْبِرٍ، وَمَنْ أَلْقَى السِّلَاحَ فَهُوَ آمِنٌ، وَمَنْ أَغْلَقَ بَابَهُ فَهُوَ آمِنٌ. ثُمَّ آمَنَ الْأَسْوَدَ وَالْأَحْمَرَ.[102]

"'Lo! A wounded man must not be killed, a retreating man should not be pursued, and a fleeing man should not be stabbed from behind. Whoever has thrown down his arms is pardoned, and whoever has shut his door is pardoned." He then pardoned every black and red-skinned man.

Kanz al-ʿUmmāl says after these paragraphs:

وَلَا يُسْتَحَلُّ فَرْجٌ وَلَا مَالٌ وَانْظُرُوا مَا حَضَرَ بِهِ الْحَرْبُ مِنْ آنِيَةٍ فَاقْبِضُوهُ، وَمَا كَانَ سِوَى ذَلِكَ فَهُوَ لِوَرَثَتِهِ، وَلَا تَطْلُبُنَّ عَبْدًا خَارِجًا مِنَ الْعَسْكَرِ، وَمَا كَانَ مِنْ دَابَّةٍ أَوْ سِلَاحٍ فَهُوَ لَكُمْ، وَلَيْسَ لَكُمْ أُمُّ وَلَدٍ، وَالْمَوَارِيثُ عَلَى فَرِيضَةِ اللهِ، وَأَيُّمَا امْرَأَةٍ قُتِلَ زَوْجُهَا فَلْتَعْتَدَّ أَرْبَعَةَ أَشْهُرٍ وَعَشْرًا.

قَالُوا: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ نُحِلُّ لَنَا دِمَاءَهُمْ، وَلَا نُحِلُّ لَنَا نِسَاءَهُمْ؟!

قَالَ: كَذَلِكَ السِّيرَةُ فِي أَهْلِ الْقِبْلَةِ فَخَاصِمُوهُ.

قَالَ: فَهَاتُوا سِهَامَكُمْ، وَأَقْرِعُوا عَلَى عَائِشَةَ، فَهِيَ رَأْسُ الْأَمْرِ وَقَائِدُهُمْ، فَضَرَفُوا وَقَالُوا: نَسْتَغْفِرُ اللهَ، فَحَمَلَهُمْ عَلِيٌّ وَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ يَوْمَ الْجَمَلِ: ثُمَّ عَلَيْهِمْ بِشَهَادَةِ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ، وَتُوَرِّثُ الْأَبْنَاءَ مِنَ الْآبَاءِ.[103]

> No woman (*faraj*) or property is legitimate spoils for you to go close to them. See what crockery there is on the battlefield and seize it; but everything else belongs to their heirs. And do not pursue any slave leaving the encampment! Any weapons and mounts are yours! You are not entitled to any handmaiden mother to a child, and all estates are in accordance with God's decree (*farīḍah*). Any woman whose husband has been killed must wait for four months and ten [days].

They asked: "O Master of the Faithful, spilling their blood is lawful for us, but their wives are not legitimate [spoils] for us?!"

The Holiness stated: "Such is military procedure (*al-siyarah*) with regard to people who pray towards the same point (*ahl al-qiblah*)!" But they protested.

He said: "Well, fetch your lots and cast them over Ayishe, because she is chief in the matter and their commander!"

They then realized and said: "We seek God's forgiveness."

Ali had dumfounded them.

And [Imam] Ali said at the Battle (*Yawm*) of the Camel: "We are gracious towards them on account of their bearing witness that there is no god but God, and we allow the sons to inherit from their fathers."

Indeed, the reason why after the Battle of the Camel and the suppression of the sedition, the Imam's brothers-in-arms sought to take all the enemy combatants' wives as prisoners, and seize all their property as spoils of the war, was that they had witnessed Abū Bakr's erroneous conduct. As the first to seize the place vacated by God's Messenger, his practice was to wage war against whoever refused to pay him *zakāt*. He did not differentiate between them and the apostates in the Arabian Peninsula and instead treated them and all the pagans alike after the death of the Prophet.

Imam Ali held the same status as a prophet, and would have been if any more had been decreed after God's Messenger's death. He applied God's Messenger's law in accordance with divine law, and as necessarily followed from his having been divinely appointed as aide and Master. That is, he would accord all Muslims, as people who all prayed towards the same place, even those who rebelled against their Imam, the legal status of Muslims; their wives, children, and property were treated as Muslims' wives, children, and property. He would not consider their wives to be spoils and share them

out among his fighters. On the contrary, his actions said that they should be treated like any other Muslim women whose husbands had died. They had to wait four months and ten days before being allowed to remarry. Their children could not be taken as prisoners of war. Male and female servants and all the property of those slain belonged to their heirs—the only exception was whatever they came across on the battlefield.

In contrast, when fighting pagans and apostates, the rules of the theater of war apply, i.e. women, children, and property can be taken as spoils, and divided among the Muslims.

As what the Imam did was new to the soldiers, and was considered to be an innovation because of the first "Caliph's" conduct. The Imam showed them that it was that other's conduct that was wrong and was an innovation added to God's religion. God's Messenger had dealt with the Meccans as [the Imam now wished to deal]. This was the tradition (Sunnah); this was the law. Minors cannot bear the adults' burdens. Nor can they be held accountable for their sins. Only weapons, mounts, and other things such as crockery found on the battlefield can be taken as spoils. Their wives are free. Their children are respected. Their property remains in their families. No one can interfere with them or it.

By rhetorically suggesting raffling Ayishe to counter their protest over the ruling, the Imam proved them wrong, the nonsensical logical conclusion to their reasoning being that they would have been allowed to take Ayishe home as a prisoner of war and sleep with her or else sell her at market!

They Treated the Master of the Martyrs' Property as Legitimate Spoils, Like Non-Muslim Enemy Combatants' Property

Hence, we should realize that when the Umayyads killed the Master of the Martyrs, they treated everything of his as per the wrongful practice of the first "Caliph," Abū Bakr, and as per his wrongful, unlawful rulings. They looted all his property in the tents and took the Household's children and wives as spoils of war. They took Zaynab, Umm Kulthūm, and the other pure and chaste females as prisoners of war—inflicting upon the noble Household that which no decent person can even imagine!

Note, accordingly, that the arrow that was shot into Ali Aṣghar's neck on the Day of ʿĀshurā began its trajectory from the Banī Saʿīdah's Saqīfah, and hit its mark, and those who say so are on the mark. Furthermore, he who considered himself to be Caliph instead

of Ali, the Master of the Faithful, is thus to blame for all the deviation and wrongdoing that resulted from his having usurped the Caliphate!

خشت أوّل چون نهد معمار کج تا ثریا می رود دیوار کج.

"If the brick-layer lays the first brick crooked, the wall will remain crooked as long as the Pleiades sail!"

أَلَا لَعْنَةُ اللهِ عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الظَّالِمِينَ

Now, surely the curse of God is upon the wrongdoers (11:18).

وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا أَيَّ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُونَ

Those who do wrong will come to know by what a (great) reverse they will be overturned (26:227).

Imam Hādī's Letter to the People of Ahvāz, Explaining the Status Hadith

Another example of reliance on the Status Hadith as evidence is by Imam Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad ʿAskarī,[104] known as Imam Ali al-Naqī, in a letter he sent to the people of Ahvāz, in response to a letter of theirs, which they sent to the Imam, asking him about free will and predestination.

In his letter, Imam Hādī writes:

> The entire nation (*ummah*) unanimously agrees without any disagreement among them with regards to that, that the Qur'an is truth, without any doubt in that among any of [the nation's] sects. And they are correct in their consensus, and they are rightly guided over believing what God has revealed, and because God's Messenger said: "My nation will not unanimously agree on any error!"
>
> So he said indirectly that whatever the nation agrees upon, and does not disagree over, is the truth. (Obviously this is based on relying on the Qur'an as evidence at all.)
>
> This is the meaning of the hadith, not the interpretation placed upon it by the ignorant or what they have invented and the opponents have believed in, and is not an instance of frustration of the Book's ruling, or following forged hadiths or nonsensical narrations, following perditious narrated whims that contradict the explicit text of the Book; it is [instead] realization of the shining clear verses.

And we ask God to grant us the success to be correct, and to guide us on the right path, and guide us towards integrity.

He then said:

So if the Book gives evidence corroborating and verifying a narration, but a sect of the nation then rejects it and contradicts it with one of these forged hadiths, they become errant disbelievers through their denial of and rejection of the Book!

A most authentic narration is one the verification of which is from the Book, for example the narration unanimously accepted from God's Messenger when he said:

إِنِّي مُسْتَخْلَفٌ فِيكُم خَلِيفَتَيْنِ: كِتَابَ اللهِ وَعِتْرَتِي، مَا إِنْ تَمَسَّكْتُمْ بِهِمَا لَنْ تَضِلُّوا بَعْدِي، وَإِنَّهُمَا لَنْ يَفْتَرِقَا حَتَّى يَرِدَا عَلَيَّ الْحَوْضَ.

"I am indeed leaving among you two Caliphs: God's Book, and my family (*'itratī*) to which so long as you cling, you will never go astray after I am gone. And they will never separate from each other until they come to me at the Pool."

Similarly, he said in other words:

إِنِّي تَارِكٌ فِيكُمُ الثَّقَلَيْنِ: كِتَابَ اللهِ وَعِتْرَتِي أَهْلَ بَيْتِي، وَإِنَّهُمَا لَنْ يَفْتَرِقَا حَتَّى يَرِدَا عَلَيَّ الْحَوْضَ، مَا إِنْ تَمَسَّكْتُمْ بِهِمَا لَنْ تَضِلُّوا!

"I am indeed leaving among you two weighty things: God's Book and my family, my Household, and they will never separate from each other until they come to me at the Pool As long as you cling to them you will never go astray!"

Both these hadiths translate to us a single meaning and give the impression of a single matter.

And as we find evidence in support of this hadith explicitly stated in God's Book, such as His words:

إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَوٰةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَوٰةَ وَهُمْ رَاكِعُونَ.

Your guardian can only be God, His Messenger and those who believe, who establish prayer, and give charity while bowing (5:55), then scholars' narrations unanimously agree that that was about the Master of the Faithful—when he gave away his ring as charity while bowing and God thanked him for that and revealed the verse about him—then find that God's Messenger had distinguished him from his companions with this utterance: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master! O God, be a

friend to whoever accepts him as Master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy!" and his words:

عَلِي يقضِي دَيْنِي وَيُنْجِزُ مَوْعِدِي وَهُوَ خَلِيفَتِي عَلَيْكُمْ بَعْدِي

"Ali will repay my debt and fulfil my covenant, and he is my successor over you after I am gone," and his words when he appointed him as deputy in Medina and he asked: "O God's Messenger, are you leaving me in charge of the women and children?" so [the Prophet] said:

أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي

"Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?" and we know that the Book bears witness, corroborating these narrations, and verifying these pieces of evidence; the nation has to concede[105] them, if these narrations are in accordance with the Qur'an, and the Qur'an is in accordance with these narrations.

And as we found these narrations to be in accordance with God's Book, and God's Book to be in accordance with and proof in support of them, following these narrations is an obligation that will only be transgressed by stubborn and corrupt people.[106]

And then the Imam begins explaining free will and predestination, and the correct doctrine, as represented by the matter is between the two matters (*al-amr bayn al-amrayn*).

Imam Ali's Reliance on the Status Hadith as Evidence before Abū Bakr

Another example of reliance on the Status Hadith as evidence is Imam Ali's argument against Abū Bakr after the people pledged allegiance to the latter. Shaykh Ṭabarsī cites this argument in *al-Iḥtijāj*, narrating from Imam Jaʿfar Ṣādiq, from his father, from his grandfather, who said:

When Abū Bakr assumed leadership, the people pledged allegiance, and they did what they did to Ali. Abū Bakr exhibited merriness towards him, but dejectedness by [Ali] could be seen. That troubled Abū Bakr, and he wanted to meet with [Ali], gratify him, and apologize to him for the people's having reached a consensus over him, and encharge him with leading the nation [and explain] his scarce desire for that and renouncement of it.

Hence, he came to him at a time of lowered vigilance (*fi waqt ghaflah*), and asked [Ali] for a private meeting, saying:

> O Abū al-Hasan! By God, this mandate was not by agreement from me or desire for what I fell upon or eagerness to take it, or confidence in myself [that I had] what the nation needs! I had no power through property, numbers through clan, and I do not prefer myself to any other. So why are you harboring against me that which I do not deserve from you, showing me dislike for what I have become, and looking at me with the eye of hatred!

The Master of the Faithful asked: "So, what drove you against me if you did not desire it and were not eager for it, and you had no confidence in yourself to undertake it?"

Abū Bakr replied:

> A hadith I heard from God's Messenger: "Surely God will not have my nation reach consensus on an error!" And when I saw their consensus, I followed the Prophet's hadith. [One edition says: "what the Prophet said."] And I believed that it would be impossible for them to reach a consensus, contrary to good sense, in error! So, I gave them an affirmative response, and had I known that anyone was absent, I would have refused.

The Master of the Faithful asked: "Did you not say that the Prophet said: 'Surely God will not have my nation reach consensus on an error,' so am I part of this nation, or not?!"

Abū Bakr Concedes Imam Ali's Virtues and the Status Hadith

Abū Bakr said: "Yes, you are part of this nation, as are the gang who [also] refused on your behalf, like Salmān, ʿAmmār, Miqdād, Abū Dharr, and Ibn ʿUbādah, and those of the Supporters (Anṣār) who were with him. All are part of God's Messenger's nation."

The Master of the Faithful asked: "So how can you rely on, as evidence, the Prophet's hadith that God will never have my nation reach consensus in error when the likes of those stayed away from you? The nation cannot criticize them; and there was no remissness by them in companionship to the Messenger!"

Abū Bakr said:

> I only found out about their absence after the mandate was ratified. I was afraid that if I renounced the mandate, the people would apostatize from the religion! Now, if you comply with them, it will be easier for the sustenance and survival of the religion than the people striking each other, and becoming unbelievers again; I know

that you are no less concerned than I about sparing them and their religions!

The Master of the Faithful then said: "Yes! But tell me, by what does whoever deserves this mandate deserve it?"

Abū Bakr answered: "Through acting in good faith, being loyal, eliminating slackness, good behavior, manifesting justice, knowledge of the Book and tradition (Sunnah), and categorical judgment, with piety in the world and little desire for it, and demanding justice for the wronged people from the wrongdoer for the close and distant [alike]!" He then fell silent.

The Master of the Faithful asked: "And precedence and closeness?"

Abū Bakr replied: "And precedence and closeness."

The Master of the Faithful said: "I adjure you, by God, O Abū Bakr, do you find these attributes in yourself or in me?"

Abū Bakr answered: "In you, rather, Abū al-Hasan!"

Then the Imam presented his argument to him and adjured him by many characteristics and attributes exclusive to himself, including:

أَنْشُدُكَ بِاللهِ! أَلِيَ الوَزَارَةُ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ؛ وَالمِثْلُ مِنْ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى؛ أَمْ لَكَ؟ قَالَ: بَلْ لَكَ!

"I adjure you by God, is being the aide to God's Messenger and being as Aaron was to Moses yours or mine?" [Abū Bakr] answered: "Yours, rather!"

At this meeting, Abū Bakr is held to account, and is nonplussed, so he says: "O Abū al-Hasan, stretch out your hand so that I can pledge allegiance to you." However, it was decided that there should be a public pledge in the mosque after that pledge at the aforementioned meeting. But after just one night had passed after this situation, Omar found out about the matter and dissuaded Abū Bakr from his resolution by whatever means.[107]

Imam Ali's Reliance on the Status Hadith as Evidence in the Council

Another example of reliance on the Status Hadith as evidence was in the argument presented by Imam Ali to the members of the Council, at their assembly after Omar's death. This argument is very lengthy; it includes the Imam's exclusive virtues and achievements, unshared by any of the Migrants or Supporters. It is a famous argument. We

content ourselves with only citing the relevant part in which the Status Hadith, and the Imam's status as aide, are relied on as evidence. Here, the Imam says, after setting out his merits, and the opponents' conceding and acknowledging them:

نَشَدْتُكُمْ بِاللهِ هَلْ فِيكُمْ أَحَدٌ قَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وآله وسلم: أَنتَ مِنِّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي؟ قَالُوا: لَا

"I adjure you by God, is there anyone among you about whom God's Messenger said: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me"?! They said: "No!"

He said:

نَشَدْتُكُمْ بِاللهِ، هَلْ فِيكُمْ أَحَدٌ قَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ: أَنتَ أَخِي وَوَزِيرِي وَصَاحِبِي مِن أَهْلِي، غَيْرِي؟ قَالُوا: لَا

"I adjure you by God, is there anyone else but me among you to whom God's Messenger said: 'You are my brother, my aide and my companion from my family (*ahlī*)?!'" They said: "No!"

The Imam continues presenting these arguments, eventually saying:

> Now if you make a concession against yourselves, and that is clear to you from your Prophet's words, you have to fear God alone, Who has no partner! And I forbid you to anger Him! And do not disobey His commandment! And return the due to its owner, and follow the tradition of your Prophet because if you do disobey, you disobey God! So pass it to its rightful owner. It is his!

The narrator of this hadith, Imam Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Bāqir, says:

> When Imam Ali finished speaking, the members of the Council winked at each other and consulted with each other. They said: "We know Ali's virtues, and we know that he is the worthiest person of it, but he is a man who does not favor anyone over anyone [else], so if you make him Master, then he does not discriminate among the people; he will treat you and everyone else the same. However, if you make Othman Master, he will desire whatever you desire, so pass it to him.[108]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd relates in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* the argument presented by Imam Ali on the Day of Council, up to where he says:

أفِيكُم أحَدٌ قالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وآله وسلم: أنتَ مِنِّي بمنزِلَةِ هَارونَ مِن مُوسَى إلّا أنَّهُ لا نَبِيَّ بَعدِي، غَيرِي؟ قَالُوا؟ لا![109]

"Is there anyone else among you but me, to whom God's Messenger said: 'You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?'" They said: 'No!'"

Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd cites the Status Hadith and the Purification Verse as examples when commenting on what the Imam said when he was informed that the Umayyads accused him of being implicated in Othman's murder.

To clarify, *Nahj al-Balāghah* says that when the Umayyads' accusation of his being implicated in Othman's murder reached him, the Master of the Faithful said:

أوَلَمْ يَنْهَ أُمَيَّةَ عِلْمُهَا بِي عَنْ قَرْنِي؟ أوَ مَا وَزَعَ الجُهَّالَ سَابِقَتِي عَنْ تُهَمَتِي؟ وَلَمَا وَعَظَهُمُ اللهُ بِهِ أبْلَغُ مِن لِسَانِي؛ أنَا حَجِيجُ المَارِقِينَ وَخَصِيمُ المُرْتَابِينَ؛ وَعَلَى كِتَابِ اللهِ تُعْرَضُ الأمْثَالُ؛ وَبِمَا فِي الصُّدُورِ تُجَازَى العِبَادُ[110]

Did the Umayyads' knowledge about me not prevent them from loathing me? And did not my precedence (in accepting Islam) not restrain these ignorant people from blaming me? And did God not warn them about it more eloquently than my tongue? I am the contester of the through-and-throughs and the opponent of those who entertain doubts. Uncertainties should be placed before God's Book [for clarification]. People will be recompensed according to what they have in their hearts.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says in his commentary on the first paragraph:

اولم ينه امية علمها بى عن قرنى

Imam Ali says: "Is there nothing within the Umayyads' knowledge of my status to stop them accusing me of, and loathing me for, murdering Othman?" The status to which he is referring, and he says that their knowledge should dictate that they do not loathe him for it, is his status in the religion, higher than which there is no greater status—that which the truthful Book spoke of, i.e. his, his wife's, and his children's infallibility (*ṭahārah*), as per the Exalted's words:

إنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أهْلَ البَيتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُم تَطْهِيرًا

God only desires to keep uncleanness from you, O Household, and to cleanse you thoroughly (33:33) and the Prophet's words: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses."

These expressions necessarily mean that he is infallible [hence innocent of] shedding blood unlawfully, just as Aaron was infallible [and thus innocent of] any such thing. All who were present and witnessed God's Messenger's words and actions have to realize that it is not possible for the likes of [Imam Ali] to spill a Muslim leader's blood.[111]

The Sermon Delivered by Ziyād in Persia and His Reliance on the Status Hadith as Evidence

Another example of reliance on the Status Hadith as evidence is by Ziyād Ibn Sumayyah, in his sermon, as referred to by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd as follows:

[Ali Ibn Muhammad Madā'inī said:] During his term, Imam Ali put Ziyād in charge of Persia or one of its provinces, and he controlled it properly. He collected its land tax and defended it. Mu'āwiyah knew that, so he wrote to him:

Now then! You have been deluded by citadels in which you seek refuge at night, the way a bird seeks refuge in its nest! By God's Right Hand, were it not for my expectation of you what God knows best, you would have from me what the pious servant said:

فَلَنَأْتِيَنَّهُمْ بِجُنُودٍ لَا قِبَلَ لَهُمْ بِهَا وَلَنُخْرِجَنَّهُمْ مِنْهَا أَذِلَّةً وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ.[112]

...so we will most certainly come to them with hosts which they shall have no power to oppose, and we will most certainly expel them therefrom in abasement, and they shall be in a state of ignominy (27:37).

And at the bottom of the letter, he wrote poetry, some of which was:

تَسَى أَبَاكَ وَقَدْ شَالَتْ نَعَامَتُهُ إِذْ يَخْطُبُ النَّاسَ وَالْوَالِي لَهُمْ عُمَرُ.

"You forget your father, his having passed away. [Don't you remember] when he delivered a sermon to the people when Omar was governor over them?"

When Ziyād received Mu'āwiyah's letter, he stood up and delivered a sermon to his people, saying:

اَلْعَجَبُ مِنِ ابْنِ آكِلَةِ الْأَكْبَادِ، وَرَأْسِ النِّفَاقِ، يَهَدِّدُنِي وَبَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهُ ابْنُ عَمِّ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَزَوْجُ سَيِّدَةِ نِسَاءِ الْعَالَمِينَ، وَأَبُو السِّبْطَيْنِ، وَصَاحِبُ الْوِلَايَةِ وَالْمَنْزِلَةِ، وَالْإِخَاءِ، فِي مِائَةِ أَلْفٍ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ، وَالتَّابِعِينَ لَهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ! أَمَا وَاللهِ لَوْ تَخَطَّى هَؤُلَاءِ أَجْمَعُونَ إِلَيَّ، لَوَجَدَنِي أَحْمَرَ مِخْشَاباً[113] ضَرَّاباً بِالسَّيْفِ.

How strange it is from the son of the devourer of kidneys [a reference to his cruelty and mercilessness inherited in part from his mother Hind, who tried to eat Ḥamzah's kidney], and the chief of hypocrisy, threatening me, when between me and him, there is God's Messenger's cousin, and the husband of the chief of all ladies of all the worlds, and the father of the two grandsons, and the occupier of the position as Master and the status, and brother [commanding] a hundred Migrants and Supporters and those who follow them in doing good!

Lo, by God! If all of them [Muʿāwiyah's forces] walked towards me, they would find me to be a master (*aḥmar*),[114] a brave horse (*mukhishshan*) striking tirelessly with the sword!

Then, [after this sermon, Ziyād] wrote [a letter] to the Master of the Faithful, Ali, and attached Muʿāwiyah's letter. Imam Ali replied to his letter as follows:

أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنِّي قَدْ وَلَّيْتُكَ مَا وَلَّيْتُكَ، وَأَنَا أَرَاكَ أَهْلًا، وَإِنَّهُ قَدْ كَانَتْ مِنْ أَبِي سُفْيَانَ فَلْتَةٌ فِي أَيَّامِ عُمَرَ مِنْ أَمَانِيِّ الطَّيِّهِ وَكَذِبِ النَّفْسِ، لَمْ تَسْتَوْجِبْ بِهَا مِيرَاثًا، وَلَمْ تَسْتَحِقَّ بِهَا نَسَبًا. وَإِنَّ مُعَاوِيَةَ كَالشَّيْطَانِ الرَّجِيمِ يَأْتِي الْمَرْءَ مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَمِنْ خَلْفِهِ وَعَنْ يَمِينِهِ وَعَنْ شِمَالِهِ، فَاحْذَرْهُ، ثُمَّ احْذَرْهُ ثُمَّ احْذَرْهُ، وَالسَّلَامُ.[115]

I put you in charge of what I put you in charge of, considering you to be competent! During Omar's term, it was a mistake by Abū Sufyān [because] of hopes of deviation and lying to himself through which inheritance is not necessitated and lineage is not deserved. And truly Muʿāwiyah is like cursed Satan who comes at a person, from the front and the rear, and from the right, and the left; so beware him! Again beware him! Again beware him! Peace.

A historical note is needed to explain Imam Ali's response to Ziyād Ibn Sumayyah. Ziyād: teknonym: Abū al-Mughīrah. His mother, Sumayyah, was a servant to a Persian grandee[116] who lived in Ṭāʾif. The grandee fell ill, so he called Ḥarth Ibn Kaldah Thaqafī—who was a doctor—to treat him. He did so and he recovered. So [the grandee] gave Sumayyah as payment to him for curing him. He then had two sons with her: Nafiʿ and Nāfiʿ. [Ḥarth] then married Sumayyah to his Byzantine slave ʿUbayd. And at that time, Abū Sufyān took a trip to Ṭāʾif and asked the wine merchant Abū Maryam Salūlī for a prostitute, so Abū Maryam took him Sumayyah. Sumayyah gave birth to Ziyād in the first year after the migration while she was still ʿUbayd's wife!

The Story of Muʿāwiyah's Public Recognition of Ziyād as Abū Sufyān's Biological Son

After God's Messenger besieged Ṭā'if, Nafīʿ came to the Prophet; [the Prophet] freed him and nicknamed him Abū Bakrah (the man with the pulley). Ḥarth Ibn Kaldah then feared his other son, Nāfiʿ, would go off to the Prophet, so he told him: "You are my son!"

Hence, Nafīʿ, teknonym Abū Bakrah, was called the Messenger's freedman. Nāfiʿ was called the son of Ḥarth, and Ziyād was called the son of ʿUbayd. This was before Muʿāwiyah publicly acknowledged Ziyād as Abū Sufyān's biological son. However, after Muʿāwiyah did acknowledge him as such, and as his brother, he was called Ziyād Ibn Abī Sufyān. When the Umayyad dynasty was overthrown, he was called Ziyād Ibn Sumayyah, or Ziyād, the son of his father.[117]

Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr relates from Hishām Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sā'ib Kalbī, from his father, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that [during his term], Omar sent Ziyād, [who was still a young boy], to reform corruption that had arisen in the Yemen.

Then, when Ziyād returned from Yemen, he delivered, in the presence of Omar, a sermon, the like of which had never been heard before. Ali, Abū Sufyān, and ʿAmr Ibn-al-ʿĀṣ were also present.

ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ said: "To God alone is attributable the excellence of this boy's father; if he were Qurayshī, he would drive the Arabs with his staff!"

Abū Sufyān then said: "He is Qurayshī; and I surely know who planted him in his mother's womb!" So Ali asked: "And who is that?" Abū Sufyān said: "I did!" Ali said: "Easy, Abū Sufyān!"

Then, Abū Sufyān uttered three couplets of poetry to Ali, the meaning of which was, if [Abū Sufyān] did not fear Omar, he would explain the story of this young man's birth![118]

Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā Balādhurī narrates something similar, but says at the end:

ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ said to Abū Sufyān:

فَهَلَّا تُسْتَلْحِقُهُ؟ قَالَ: أَخَافُ هَذَا الْعَيْرَ الْجَالِسَ أَنْ يُخْرِقَ عَلَيَّ إِهَابِي

"So why do you not publicly acknowledge him as your son?"

Abū Sufyān replied: "I fear this wild ass (*al-ʿayr*), who is sitting here, will peel off my flesh!"

Muhammad Ibn Omar al-Wāqidī also relates something similar, but says at the end: "Ali said: 'Silence, Abū Sufyān, because Omar is quick to do evil!'"

Ziyād knew what had transpired between Ali and Abū Sufyān—and it lingered in his soul.[119]

God's Messenger's Ruling: The Child Is of the Bed and for the Fornicator There Is [Just] Stone

Abū Sufyān's fear of Omar in not explicitly confessing that Ziyād was his, and that his seed had lodged after he had committed adultery with [Ziyād's] mother, Sumayyah, stemmed from God's Messenger's ruling:

الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر.

"The child is of the bed and for the fornicator there is just stone!" meaning that a child born is considered to be the legitimate offspring of anyone whose wife shares his marital bed pursuant to a valid [marriage] contract, valid ownership, or any other lawful means. On the other hand, a fornicator has no claim to the child; his only lot is the stone by which he is stoned!

In other words, when a child is born to a woman, without incontrovertible proof or probable cause to believe that he is illegitimate, he has to be presumed to be the legitimate offspring of the owner of the bed, not anyone who fornicated [with the mother]; even if there is doubt as to his paternity, or even strong suspicion that does not reach the necessary standard of proof that the seed from which the child is formed was adulterously deposited, e.g. facial resemblance or the opinion of bone-structure genealogy experts (*qawl al-qāfah*).

Both the Shiʿa and Sunnis agree that a fornicator cannot claim his biological child as his legitimate offspring. This law was passed by the Prophet when there was a harsh dispute between Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and ʿAbd Ibn Zamʿah over a child of Zamʿah's.

In the Year of the Victory, when Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ went to Mecca, his brother ʿUtbah Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ told him: "Zamʿah's son was born from my seed, and he is from me, so get him and bring him!"

In the Year of the Victory, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ [captured the son of Zamʿah] and said: "This is my brother's son; I have been asked to

take him [to my brother]." ʿAbd Ibn Zamʿah, who was the boy's brother, then stood up and said: "This is my brother. He is a child of my father's marriage (*firāsh*)."

Thereafter, they took their dispute before God's Messenger. Saʿd said: "O God's Messenger, this boy is my brother, ʿUtbah Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ's son; he himself has entrusted me [with the knowledge] that this is his son. Look at the resemblance to him!" ʿAbd Ibn Zamʿah then said: "O God's Messenger, this is my brother. He is a child of my father's, so he is one of his children." Thereafter, God's Messenger looked at the infant and saw the clear resemblance to ʿUtbah. He then turned to ʿAbd Ibn Zamʿah and stated:

هُوَ لَكَ يا عَبْدُ الوَلَدُ لِلفِرَاشِ وَلِلعَاهِرِ الحَجَرُ. وَاحْتَجِبِي مِنهُ يا سَوْدَةُ بِنْتَ زَمْعَةَ، قَالَت عائشة: فَلَم يَرَ سَوْدَةَ قَطُّ[120]

"O ʿAbd, he's yours [your brother], because the child is of the bed, and for the fornicator there is [just] stone." [Then he turned to his wife, Sawdah, the daughter of Zamʿah, saying]: "Wear hijab around him, Sawdah, daughter of Zamʿah." Ayishe says: "So [the young boy] never saw Sawdah."[121]

In response to a letter Muʿāwiyah had sent him saying: "O Ali, you have denied Abū Sufyān of Ziyād," Imam Ali wrote: "I did not deny him. God's Messenger denied him when he said: 'The child is of the bed and for the fornicator there is [just] stone.'"[122]

When Ziyād wrote a letter to Imam Hasan, [Ziyād] had the bad manners to say: "From Ziyād son of Abū Sufyān, to Hasan, son of Fāṭimah," but Imam Hasan just wrote in response:

مِنَ الحَسَنِ بنِ فاطِمَةَ إلى زِيادِ بنِ سُمَيَّة، أمّا بعدُ فَإنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلم قالَ: الوَلَدُ لِلفِراشِ وَلِلعاهِرِ الحَجَرُ. وَالسَّلام.[123]

"From Hasan, son of Fāṭimah, to Ziyād, son of Sumayyah. Now then, God's Messenger surely said: 'The child is of the bed, and for the fornicator there is [just] stone.' Peace."

In any case, there is no disagreement among any of the people of Islam that any child born to a lawful union is a child of that union, i.e. he is the child of the man in that lawful union. This child is his, and he is his father; the other children of the marriage are his brothers and sisters, and the same principle applies to all other blood relationships, such as paternal uncles, aunts, cousins, and so on.

However, because the doubt revolves around there not being any incontrovertible evidence or proof, no familial relationship is recognized between the adulterous interloper and this infant, so it is not

his son, he is not his father, and the interloper's other children are not his brothers; the interloper's brother is not the child's uncle, etc.[124]

Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān openly defied God's Messenger's ruling, and publicly announced that Ziyād Ibn ʿUbayd was his brother, Ziyād Ibn Abī Sufyān. Waves of opposition rose up from all parts of the Islamic world, even from all of God's Messenger's companions, but to no avail. He ascended the pulpit in Damascus, sat Ziyād one step lower than himself, and announced: "This man is the product of my father, Abū Sufyān's, adultery with Sumayyah in Ṭāʾif, so he is Abū Sufyān's son, and my brother. No one is allowed to call him Ziyād Ibn ʿUbayd.

This deed was done by Muʿāwiyah as a political ploy to sway Ziyād towards him, because Muʿāwiyah was governor of the Levant and the Muslims in those environs. This meant that Ziyād was the governor's brother and the son of the Arab personage, Abū Sufyān, instead of ʿUbayd the Byzantine slave, being related to whom would have accorded Ziyād no status!

Meanwhile, poor, wretched Ziyād was happy to be related to Abū Sufyān; he considered himself to be his illegitimate child, attributed adultery to his own mother, and denied being the son of ʿUbayd, who had formed a legal union with his mother Sumayyah.

In pursuit of power, Ziyād preferred being illegitimate over being legitimate! He preferred being of Abū Sufyān's adulterous seed to being of the seed of ʿUbayd the Byzantine, even though it was the seed of a lawful union—and considered it to be an honor.

Ziyād was initially a man of intelligence, and a follower of Imam Ali. He was appointed by His Holiness as governor of a region in Persia. As we saw, when Muʿāwiyah wrote him a letter and threatened him, he went among his people and delivered a sermon, announcing his readiness to fight against Muʿāwiyah. He believed in Imam Ali, and he knew that he had been made Master by the prophetic hadith: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," was his aide as per "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses," was his brother as per "You are my brother," and was the father of his two grandsons (*sibṭayn*), Hasan and Husayn, husband of the chief all the ladies of all the worlds, and God's Messenger's cousin. For the rest of Imam Ali's lifetime, Ziyād remained governor of Persia, and Muʿāwiyah was unable to beguile him or break his resolve.

From the letter Imam Ali wrote in reply to him, saying that that which issued from Abū Sufyān during Omar's term was a slip caused by Satan's hopes of leading astray and by self-delusion, that a familial

relationship cannot be established that way, and that a right of inheritance cannot thus be generated, it is understood that Muʿāwiyah had captured Ziyād's attention in his letter to him by telling him he was Abū Sufyān's son, and by deluding Ziyād into believing that he was his brother, he intended to incite him to rise against Imam Ali.

Sayyid Raḍī relates the very letter in *Nahj al-Balāghah*, saying:

> When [His Holiness] was informed that Muʿāwiyah had written a letter to [Ziyād], trying to deceive him by seeking to prove his relationship to him, [His Holiness] also wrote him a letter, saying:

وَقَدْ عَرَفْتُ أَنَّ مُعاوِيَةَ كَتَبَ إِلَيْكَ يَسْتَزِلُّ لُبَّكَ وَيَسْتَفِلُّ غَرْبَكَ، فَاحْذَرْهُ فَإِنَّمَا هُوَ الشَّيْطانُ يَأْتِي الْمَرْءَ مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ، وَمِنْ خَلْفِهِ، وَعَنْ يَمِينِهِ، وَعَنْ شِمالِهِ، لِيَقْتَحِمَ غَفْلَتَهُ، وَيَسْتَلِبَ غِرَّتَهُ

وَقَدْ كانَ مِنْ أَبِي سُفْيانَ فِي زَمَنِ عُمَرَ فَلْتَةٌ مِنْ حَدِيثِ النَّفْسِ وَنَزْعَةٌ مِنْ نَزَعاتِ الشَّيْطانِ، لا يَثْبُتُ بِها نَسَبٌ وَلا يُسْتَحَقُّ بِها إِرْثٌ، وَالْمُتَعَلِّقُ بِها كَالْوارِغِ الْمُتَضَرِّعِ، وَالنَّوْطِ الْمُذَبْذَبِ[125]

فَلَمّا قَرَأَ زِيادٌ الْكِتابَ، قالَ: شَهِدَ بِها وَرَبِّ الْكَعْبَةِ وَلَمْ تَزَلْ فِي نَفْسِهِ حَتّى ادَّعاهُ مُعاوِيَةُ[126]

> I am given to understand that Muʿāwiyah has been corresponding with you. Beware! He wants to make a fool of you, to blunt your intelligence and to harm your self-respect. Remember that it is Satan who comes at a Muslim from the front, from the rear, from the right, and from the left to pounce upon his inadvertence and enslave his reasoning.
>
> There was during Omar's term a slip by Abū Sufyān, which he had talked himself into, and one of Satan's suggestions, by which paternity is not established and a right to inherit is not acquired. Anyone depending on it is like a gatecrasher turned away and a dangling appendage.

This means: During Omar's tenure, there was a manifest error in Abū Sufyān's utterance, channeling Satan's words by saying: "I know who planted him in the womb of his mother!" meaning himself. Though his abhorrent action and utterance corrupts the dutiful, it does not prove paternity or generate a right of inheritance. Anyone wishing to prove paternity in this way is like someone who trespasses upon someone else's water hole and is continually thwarted from drinking by those to whom it belongs. To put it another way, he

is like something, such as a bowl or pitcher, tied to a horse or camel saddle, constantly jolted from right to left and vice versa, and never able to settle as the animal speeds onwards!

When Ziyād read Imam Ali's reply, he swore by the Lord of the Kaʿbah that Ali had attested to his being Abū Sufyān's son, and the notion kept playing on his mind until Muʿāwiyah [publicly] declared him to be unrelated to ʿUbayd and declared him to be Abū Sufyān's [biological] son.

When Imam Ali was martyred, Ziyād was still governor of Persia [or part thereof]. Muʿāwiyah was worried about him, because he knew his resolve, the entrenchedness of his position, and his rectitude. He was afraid that he would become closer to His Holiness Imam Hasan Mujtabā and then support and assist him in rebelling against Muʿāwiyah. Therefore, he wrote him a letter saying:

> From the Master of the Faithful [sic], Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, to Ziyād Ibn ʿUbayd.
>
> Now then, you are a slave, who has been ungrateful for blessing, and you are asking for punishment. Gratitude would have been better for you than ingratitude! Because a tree is related to its root, and the branches grow from the root. You surely have no mother and indeed no father. You are doomed and will bring others down! You think that you have slipped from my grip, and that my authority will not reach you! Far be it! Not everyone with sense is right in his opinion, and not everyone with an opinion is sincere in his counsel.
>
> Yesterday a slave and today an emir! A level never risen to by anyone like you [before], O son of Sumayyah!
>
> As soon as this letter of mine reaches you, call people to obey and pledge allegiance to me! And be quick in responding! If you do so, your blood will not be spilled and your life will be spared and you will have behaved well; otherwise I will snatch you with minimal power (*bi aḍʿaf rīsh*) and reach you with the least effort!
>
> And I swear the solemnest oath, that I will be brought you, in nothing but a big band, walking barefoot from Persia to the Levant, until I make you stand in the marketplace, I sell you as a slave, and return you to where you were and where you came from! Peace.[127]

Then, when this letter reached Ziyād, he became extremely angry; he called the people together and climbed the pulpit. Thereafter he praised God, then said:

The son of the liver-devourer (Hind), and the murderer of God's Lion (Ḥamzah), and the son of Abū Sufyān, the bringer about of conflict, and the concealer of hypocrisy, the chief of the confederates who spent his money to extinguish God's Light, has written to me, thundering and making lightning out of a spent cloud with no water left in it and from clouds easily blown by the winds! What proves his weakness to me is his having made a threat before acting! O Muʿāwiyah! Do you warn me out of concern for me, and forgive? Never! Rather he has stepped on the wrong course. He has [saber-] rattled against someone who was brought up among the thunderbolts of Tihāmah!

How can I be afraid of him when God's Messenger's daughter's son, his cousin's son, is between us—along with a hundred thousand Migrants and Supporters?!

By God, if [His Holiness Imam Hasan] lets me, or he commands me to [fight Muʿāwiyah], then I will make him see stars during the day and fill his nostrils with mustard water!

[Muʿāwiyah] should beware words today; the gathering will be on the morrow, and the consultation will be after that, God-willing.

He said this, descended from the pulpit, and wrote to Muʿāwiyah:

Now then, O Muʿāwiyah, I received your letter, understood its contents, and found you to be like a drowning man, the wave engulfing him, clinging to water moss and frogs' legs, in the hope of surviving!

Whoever opposes God and His Messenger and exerts corruption in the land is nothing but ungrateful for blessings and is inviting punishments. And as for your vilification of me, were it not for my patience, I would count out so many of your shameful deeds that water would not be able to wash them away!

And as for your trying to shame me through Sumayyah, well, even if I am the son of Sumayyah,[128] and one man committed adultery with my mother, and fathered me by her, well, you are the son of many [i.e. many (*jamāʿatun*) committed adultery with your mother, and you are their son!]

And as for your claim that you will snatch with minimal power (*bi aḍʿaf rīsh*) and reach me with the least effort, well, have you ever seen a tiny sparrow attack a falcon, or ever heard that a lamb devoured a wolf?!

Now, proceed to your destination and exert all your effort! Because I will only set up camp where you hate, and strive only at what harms

you! You will soon realize which of us surrenders to his master who comes suddenly upon him! Peace.[129]

Muʿāwiyah Beguiles Ziyād with the Guidance of Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah

When Ziyād's letter reached Muʿāwiyah, it aggrieved and sorrowed him. He sent for Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah and consulted him in private. He said: "O Mughīrah! I want to consult you concerning something that has been bothering me. Do give me your sincere advice about it. And counsel me, with the opinion of an [independent] judge! Because as you know, I am only revealing my secret to you; I have treated you preferentially over my [own] son."

Mughīrah said: "Well what is that? By God, you will find me more compliant than water [running] down a slope! And you will find me more obedient to you than a sword (*dhī rawnaq*) in the hand of a brave hero."

Muʿāwiyah said: "Ziyād has settled in Persia, and he hisses at us like a viper! He is a sharp-minded and determined man, perspicacious, accurate when he fires! Now, I fear him as I never feared him when his master was alive. I am worried that he may aid Hasan. So, what is the way to get to him? And what trick is there in correcting his opinion?

Mughīrah said: "I am able to do it as long as I live! Ziyād likes glory, remembrance, and ascending pulpits. He is an ambitious man and likes to sermonize and lecture. So, if you make the matter appeal to him and correspond with him kindly, he will be more compliant with you and have greater trust in you! Now, write to him and I will be the messenger."

Thereafter, Muʿāwiyah wrote to [Ziyād]:

> From the Master of the Faithful [sic], Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, to Ziyād Ibn Abī Sufyān:
>
> Now then, caprice may cast man onto where perdition strikes! And you are an example of a stricken man, cutting off relations with your blood relatives, and maintaining good relations with the enemy! Your low opinion of me and your hatred of me made you disown me and sever blood relationship to me, and you violated my parentage and dignity as if you were not my brother, and Ṣakhr Ibn Ḥarb were not your and my father! What a difference there is between you and me! I seek to avenge the son of al-ʿĀṣ,[130] but you are fighting with me!
>
> Yes, this kind of weakness is a trait inherited from women; and you are

كَتَارِكَةٍ بَيْضَهَا بِالْعَرَاءِ وَمُلْحِفَةٍ بَيْضَ اخْرَى جَنَاحَا

like a bird that lays its eggs in the open, but that shelters other birds' eggs under its wing!

And I have also decided to prove my kindness towards you, not to reproach you for your shortcoming, and, to reinstate my blood relationship to you, and seek reward with regard to you.

O Abū Mughīrah (Ziyād), know that if you plunge into the sea, in obeying that group, and you strike with your sword until the broad side of its blade breaks, then you will only become further in disfavor because Banī ʿAbd Shams are even more despised by Banī Hāshim than the blade is by a downed bull that has been restrained for slaughter. So go back to your real origin—may God have mercy on you—and link up with your people, and do not be like [an egg] tucked under another bird's wings!

For you have become of unknown parentage! And I swear by my soul that nothing but your obstinacy has done this to you! So leave it be! Because you have become certain about yourself and clear in your proof, so if you love my side, and trust me, it will just be one governorate in exchange for another! But if you hate my side and do not trust what I say, then doing something nice will not be incumbent upon me or for me. Peace![131]

Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah took the letter with him from Damascus (Shām) to Persia. When Ziyād saw Mughīrah, he favored him, brought him close, and was amiable with him.[132] [Mughīrah] then handed him the letter, and Ziyād began scrutinizing it. He laughed. When he had finished reading it, he trampled it underfoot, and then turned to Mughīrah, saying: "That's enough, Mughīrah, because I can read your mind; you have traveled a long way; now stand up and give your mount a rest!"

Mughīrah said: "Yes, stop being stubborn, may God have mercy on you, and come back to your tribe! Resume good relations with your brother! Consider carefully what is good for you! And do not cut off your blood relations!"

Ziyād said: "I am a man of thought, and I take my time in all my affairs. Do not rush me. Do not initiate anything with me until I initiate it with you!"

After two or three days, Ziyād called the people together, climbed the pulpit, praised and glorified God, and then said:

O people! When calamity turns away from you, keep it away! And always ask God for your continued well-being. Since Othman's death, I

have been considering people's affairs and thinking about them. I have found them to be like sacrificial animals that are slaughtered at every festival. And these two battles—of the Camel and Ṣiffīn—have sent almost a hundred thousand people to death. They all claimed that they were pursuing a right, following an Imam, and were well informed about their affair!

If the matter were so, then both the slayer and slain will go to Heaven! Certainly not! It is not so! However, the matter was problematic and the people became confused. I am afraid things will go back to the way they started; how then will man ensure the survival of his religion!

I thought about the situation of the people, and found one of the two outcomes to be sound. I will work at your affairs for an outcome and a result that you will praise! For I have praised your obedience, God willing!

He then descended.

Ziyād's Letter to Muʿāwiyah and His Agreement to Cooperate

And he wrote in response to the letter:

Now then, Muʿāwiyah! Your letter arrived with Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah and I have understood its contents. Praise be to God Who has shown you what is right and steered you back to maintaining good relations! You are not one of those who is ignorant of what is proper or heedless of genealogy!

If you want me to answer you in accordance with what the evidence dictates and every possible reply, the letter would be prolix and verbose!

However, if you wrote your letter in good faith and with good intentions and mean to be benevolent, then you will sow love and acceptance in my heart!

But if your only intention is to trick or deceive me, or *mala fides*, then the soul declines what is destructive!

On the day I read your letter, I stood where the preacher prepares (*yaʿbaʾ*) the tip of his tongue[133] and left everyone present, no people coming or leaving, like people confused over a matter, lost for guidance—and I am clever in doing such things.

And at the bottom of the letter he wrote:

إذا معشري لم ينصفوني وجدتني أدافع عني الضيم ما دمت باقيا 1
وكم معشر أعيت قناتي عليهم فلاموا وألفوني لدى العزم ماضيا 2
وهم بهم ضاقت صدور فرحتها وكنت بطبي للرجال مداويا 3
أدافع بالحلم الجهول مكيدة وأخفي له تحت العضاة الدواهيا 4
فإن تدنو مني أدنو منك وإن تبن تجدني إذا لم تدنو مني نائيا. 5

1. When my people are not fair with me, then you will find me, as long as I am alive, able to defend myself from harm.
2. How many a people my spear has sent to death! So they have blamed me, and then they have found me to have firm resolve.
3. And [how many] sorrows and agonies by which the hearts had shrunk, but I removed them all, and with my medicine, I can cure many men.
4. By my tolerance and trickery, I can repel an ignorant person; and lay a trap for him under the thistle tree!
5. So, if you become close to me, I will also become close to you, but if you separate, you will fall behind.

Muʿāwiyah gave Ziyād whatever he wanted, and he wrote, signed, and confirmed it. Then Ziyād went to Damascus (Shām), and Muʿāwiyah received him with open arms, and gave him the highest respect. He allowed him to stay on as the governor of Persia, and then appointed him as the governor of Iraq.[134]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd narrates from Ali Ibn Muhammad Madāʾinī that when Muʿāwiyah wanted to announce Ziyād as his biological brother after [Ziyād] arrived in Damascus (Shām), he gathered the people together and climbed the pulpit. He took Ziyād up with him and sat him down before him one step lower than his own.

> He praised and glorified God and said: "O people! I have learned of our household's biological relationship to Ziyād. Now whoever has any witness evidence should present it."
>
> A few people stood up and testified that he was Abū Sufyān's son, and that they had heard Abū Sufyān's confession of it before his death.
>
> Abū Maryam Salūlī, who was a wine merchant in the [days of] ignorance, stood up and said:
>
> > O Master of the Faithful [sic]! I testify that Abū Sufyān came to us in Ṭāʾif, and came to me. I bought some meat, wine, and food for him. When he had eaten, he asked me:

"O Abū Maryam, procure me a prostitute!"

I went out and visited Sumayyah and said to her: "Abū Sufyān is a man whose nobility and generosity you already know, and he has asked me to procure him a prostitute. Now is it for you?"

Sumayyah said: "Yes, now ʿUbayd is bringing the sheep back." (ʿUbayd was a shepherd.)."As soon as he eats his meal and puts his head down, I will go to [Abū Sufyān]."

I returned to Abū Sufyān and told him. It was not long before [Sumayyah] came along, trailing her train. She then went in with [Abū Sufyān] and stayed with him until she woke up in the morning. I then asked [Abū Sufyān] when she went away: "What did you think of your partner?"

He replied: "She was a good bed-fellow if only her armpits were not fetid (*dhafar fī ibṭayhā*)!"

Ziyād then called out from atop the pulpit: "O Abū Maryam! Do not vilify other men's mothers lest your own mother be vilified!"

When Muʿāwiyah finished speaking, Ziyād stood up. All the people listened attentively. He praised and glorified God, and then said: "O people, Muʿāwiyah and the witnesses have said what you heard, and I would not know which part of it is true and which part is false, but he and the witnesses know better than I regarding what they said; however, ʿUbayd was a father absolved through piety and a praiseworthy master."

He then descended from the pulpit.[135]

Praise and thanks be to God, we have told the story of Muʿāwiyah and Ziyād in such a way as to make it clear that Muʿāwiyah was a shameless and reckless man who did not shy away from any offence or betrayal to achieve his political ambitions, namely ruling with his yoke round the Muslims' necks and claiming to be part of the Household.

Though Ziyād was a defiant man of firm decision, in the end Muʿāwiyah, through his cunning tricks, made him surrender—the very same Ziyād who had written in his letter to Abū Sufyān: "You will soon realize which of us surrenders to his master who comes suddenly upon him!" Now, with the tricks of Abū Sufyān and his friend and confidant, Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah, Ziyād went to Damascus (Shām) and willingly attended Muʿāwiyah's court. There, in the

presence of others, the collar of servitude was placed around his neck, and he proudly accepted the title of bastard! So, in this way, Muʿāwiyah achieved what he wanted to.

It was Muʿāwiyah who always said: "What people say is none of our concern, as long as they do not interfere in our leadership and government."

Muʿāwiyah is the very man who said:

لَوْ أَنَّ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَ النَّاسِ شَعْرَةً مَا انْقَطَعَتْ أَبداً. قِيلَ لَهُ: كَيْفَ ذَلِكَ؟ قَالَ: كُنْتُ إِذَا مَدُّوهَا أَرْخَيْتُهَا وَإِذَا أَرْخَوْهَا مَدَدْتُهَا.[136]

"If there were only a hair between my people and me, it would never break."

Some people asked him how it could be! He answered: "If they pull the hair, I will let it go, but if they let go of it, then I will pull it."

Muʿāwiyah saw that Ziyād was a wily politician and strong governor. If he remained in his position as governor of Persia, as appointed by Imam Ali, and kept on by His Holiness Imam Hasan, he would be a serious threat to his government, because Ziyād was a follower of the Household. When he realized that his own threats against Ziyād were not effective, he changed his policy and tried kindness, calling him his brother, his father's [biological] son, ultimately ensnaring him.

By doing so, he did not care that he was repealing God's Messenger's law:

الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر

"The child is of the bed, and for the fornicator there is [just] stone."

He shamelessly repealed it and openly announced that Ziyād was from the sperm of his father, Abū Sufyān, so he was Abū Sufyān's [biological] son, and his [Muʿāwiyah's biological] brother.

However, all Muslims know that the presumption of legitimacy—i.e. that the child is of the marriage and not the adulterer's—is irrebuttable.

Here we add to the above that Abū Sufyān's adulterous relations with Sumayyah are not incontrovertibly proven. It was a mere claim made by Abū Sufyān, and Imam Ali considered it to be "hopes of deviation" and [Abū Sufyān] "lying to himself." And how should we know? Perhaps what Abū Sufyān said at Omar's court:

وضعته في رحم أمه

"I put him in his mother's womb" was a slanderous lie because when ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ had admired Ziyād's sermon and said: "If only this

boy were from Quraysh," Abū Sufyān wanted to take credit for that virtue. He was from Quraysh, and he was motivated by love of tribal honor.

Evidence in support of our claim lies in a hadith related by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd from Abū Othman, [who] said: "Ziyād wrote a letter to Muʿāwiyah asking him to let him go on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. Muʿāwiyah replied to his letter saying: 'I let you take the *ḥajj* pilgrimage this year, and I am appointing you as the emir of the *ḥajj*; I also permit you to take a thousand dirhams with you!'"

Muʿāwiyah Brings Ziyād to Shām and Makes Him Feel Proud of Being Illegitimate

And when Ziyād was still preparing [for the *ḥajj* pilgrimage], news of that reached his brother, Abū Bakrah, who since Omar's term had sworn never to speak to [Ziyād] again after [Ziyād] had stuttered while giving witness evidence against Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah when the latter was on trial for committing adultery.

Abū Bakrah entered the palace and asked for Ziyād. When the chamberlain saw Abū Bakrah, he hastily went to Ziyād, saying: "O Emir! Your brother Abū Bakrah has entered the palace."

Ziyād said: "Woe unto you! Did you see him?"

The chamberlain said: "There he is. He's just appeared." Ziyād had his little son on his lap and he was playing with him.

Abū Bakrah approached until he was standing right over him and he said to the boy:

> How are you, boy? Your father has committed a great offense against Islam. He has branded his mother an adulteress and disowned his [own] father. No, by God, I do not know Sumayyah ever to have seen Abū Sufyān.
>
> Next, your father wants to commit something even graver than this. Tomorrow, he wants to look after the *ḥajj* rites, and look after Umm Ḥabībah Bint Abī Sufyān, [God's Messenger's wife], who is one of the mothers of the believers. If he goes and asks for permission to visit her, and she grants him permission, what a grave disgrace and disaster she will have caused God's Messenger![137] But if [Umm Ḥabībah] denies him, what a disgrace it would be for your father!

Abū Bakrah left after speaking to the child.

Ziyād said: "O my brother, may God reward you well for the advice—no matter whether you are angry or content!" He then wrote to Muʿāwiyah: "This year, I am sorry that I cannot go on *ḥajj* (*al-mawsim*); the Master of the Faithful [sic] should send whomever he pleases."

Muʿāwiyah then sent ʿUtbah Ibn Abī Sufyān.[138]

Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr relates that when in the year 44 AH Muʿāwiyah "adopted" Ziyād as his brother, he also married his daughter to Muhammad Ibn Ziyād, to strengthen his relationship to Ziyād.

Abū Bakrah was Ziyād's half-brother through his mother, Sumayyah being mother to both. Abū Bakrah swore never to speak to Ziyād any more; he said:

> This man has made out his mother to be an adulteress and disowned his own father. No, by God, I do not know Sumayyah ever to have seen Abū Sufyān. Woe unto him! Now, what is his business with Umm Ḥabībah? Does he want to see her? If she keeps him on the other side of a curtain, then she disgraces him, but if he sees her, what a disaster and grave disgrace will have been caused to God's Messenger!

Ziyād went on *ḥajj* with Muʿāwiyah, and entered Medina. There, Ziyād wanted to visit Umm Ḥabībah, but he remembered what his brother, Abū Bakrah, had said, and was put off doing so. It is said [in the alternative] that Umm Ḥabībah kept him on the other side of a curtain, not allowing him to visit her. It is said [as another alternative] that Ziyād went on *ḥajj*, but did not go to Medina because of what his brother had said, and [Ziyād] said: "May God reward Abū Bakrah greatly. He never fails to advise in any circumstances."[139]

The only historical corroboration of Abū Sufyān's adulterous union with Sumayyah is the word of Abū Maryam, which is the testimony of a sinful wine merchant. And how do we know? He may have just been trying to please Muʿāwiyah!

Thus, poor Sumayyah gives birth to an imaginary baby years later according to history, and is accused of this! Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says that one of those who reproached Muʿāwiyah was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥakam Ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ, Marwān's brother, and an Umayyad. One day, he went along with a group of Umayyads to see Muʿāwiyah and said:

يامُعَاوِيةَ، لَوْلَمْ نَجِدْ إلَّا الزِّنْجَ لَاسْتَكْثَرْتَ بِهِمْ عَلَيْنَا قِلَّةً وَذِلَّةً

"O Muʿāwiyah, if you could find no one else but Zanzibarians, you would use them to outnumber us, in a minority and abject!"

Muʿāwiyah said to Marwān: "Take this depraved, insolent braggart away."

Marwān took him away; but that is a long story!

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥakam's Couplets Satirizing Muʿāwiyah

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥakam composed some couplets satirizing Muʿāwiyah and Ziyād:

أَلا أَبلِغ مُعاوِيةَ بنَ حَربٍ فَقَد ضاقَت بِما بِأَتِي اليَدانِ 1

أَتَغضَبُ أَن يُقالَ: أَبُوكَ عَفٌّ وَتَرضى أَن يُقالَ: أَبُوكَ زانِ 2

فَأَشهَدُ أَنَّ رَحمَكَ مِن زِيادٍ كَرَحمِ الفيلِ مِن وَلَدِ الأَتانِ 3

وَأَشهَدُ أَنَّها حَمَلَت زِياداً وَصَخراً مِن سُمَيَّةَ غَيرُ دانِ 4[140]

1. Beware! Take this statement to Muʿāwiyah, the son of Ḥarb, for what his hands have done, tolerance is at an end.
2. Do you become angry, if it is said to you: "Your father is chaste," and pleased if it is said: "Your father is an adulterer"?
3. I bear witness that your relationship to Ziyād is like the relationship of an elephant to a foal [that is, you are unrelated to each other, just as an elephant and a foal are unrelated to each other. In nobility, you are as a big elephant, and compared to you, Ziyād is a foal].
4. I bear witness that she conceived; and Ṣakhr (Abū Sufyān) was nowhere near her.

Secondly, even if Abū Sufyān did commit adultery with Sumayyah, how do we even know that he was Ziyād's father! This is exactly the sort of situation to which the Prophet's ruling applies:

الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر

"The child is of the bed and for the fornicator there is [just] stone."[141] That is, in the absence of incontrovertible logical proof, such as the husband being away traveling or in prison at the time of conception, and in the absence of any incontrovertible *sharīʿah* evidence, such as when gestation, i.e. from conception to birth, is less than six months, the child must be assumed to be the child of the owner of the marital bed. Even if the woman has committed adultery and gives birth, and it is possible that the child is biologically not his, the child must be assumed to be the woman's husband's, and not the child of the man

with whom she committed adultery. A valid marriage (*al-firāsh al-ṣaḥīḥ*) generates a presumption (*imārah*) of legitimacy.

And thirdly, even if we are certain that Ziyād is biologically Abū Sufyān's, e.g. if there is rational proof that he cannot be ʿUbayd's biological son, such as ʿUbayd's having had intercourse with Sumayyah less than six months, or more than nine months, ten months, or a year before Ziyād's birth—there being a difference of opinion in religious law—or even if ʿUbayd was away, or in general Ziyād's birth is proven rationally and legally to have been the result of [Sumayyah's] having committed adultery with Abū Sufyān, Ziyād still cannot be legally recognized as Abū Sufyān's son.

This is because in Islamic law, an illegitimate filial-parental relationship between child and biological father and mother is never recognized. Legitimacy can only result from a valid marriage. This is an indubitable and uncontroversial principle of Islam.

The author of *Jawāhir* says:

> In any circumstances, both categories of consensus are that filial-parental relations (*al-nasab*) are not established through extra-marital relations. In fact, it can even be claimed to be a fundamental indubitable, let alone its being obvious from scripture and hadith (*al-nuṣūṣ*) or reported by an indubitably large number of sources. Therefore, if a man has extra-marital relations, and a child is definitely formed from his seed, [that child] cannot be recognized as his by the religious law, such that he benefits from any rulings. The same applies to the [biological] mother.[142]

And in the hadiths, seed deposited extra-maritally is indisputably referred to as

لُغَية

and according to *Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn*, the Arabic word

لُغَية

with a *ḍammah* over the *lām*, a *sukūn* over the [dotted] *ghayn*, and a *fatḥah* over the *yā'* [i.e. with dots underneath it] means a *mulghāh*, i.e. a child born as a result of extra-marital relations.[143]

Muhammad Ibn Hasan Qummī says:

> One of our co-religionists sent a letter to Abū Jaʿfar [Imam] Bāqir asking him about this matter, saying: "What do you say about a man who had pre-marital sexual relations with a woman [who] thereafter became pregnant? He then married her after she became pregnant, and she gave birth to a child who out of all God's creatures resembles him most closely."

[His Holiness] wrote a letter in his own hand and seal:

اَلْوَلَدُ لُغْيَةٌ لَا يُوْرَثُ[144]

"This child is illegitimate (*lughyah*) and does not inherit."

Therefore, no lawful parental-filial relationship can ever be established between an illegitimate child and the biological father and mother. Similarly the other seven familial relationships cannot be established: mother, daughter, sister, paternal or maternal aunt, fraternal or sororal niece. So they cannot inherit from each other—in brief, none of the laws applicable to legitimate children can apply to a child who is the product of extramarital relations except for the law prohibiting incest, i.e. marriage to any of the above seven categories:

فَالْإِنْسَانُ لَا يَنْكِحُ بَعْضُهُ بَعْضًا

"A person cannot marry himself."

In summary, the only law that applies to him is that prohibiting incest, and it would not be surprising if it were lawful to look at any of these close relations, because the same law that prohibits incestuous marriage permits looking at these relations.[145]

The fact that no familial relationship is established can also be inferred from *wa li al-ᶜāhir al-ḥajar* ("for the fornicator there is [just] stone"), because even though the proposition "The child is of the bed and for the fornicator there is [just] stone" revolves around the paternity dispute between a lawfully married man and an adulterer, each of these two clauses is independent, and forms the basis of its own separate law; the words *wa li al-ᶜāhir al-ḥajar* give the impression that the adulterer gets no share of any parental relationship or of the child. Instead, he should be stoned in response to his claim—the award, instead of the child, is stones!

Some think that *al-ḥajar* means stoning that the adulterer deserves, that is, his penalty is to be stoned to death and buried in a shower of stones. However, this is a weak opinion because it restricts the reference to a fornicator (*ᶜāhir*) to a married (*muḥṣan*) one, and the bed (*firāsh*) to the marital bed where adultery is disputed due to the contrast made between the two clauses. However, there is no justification or explanation for this restriction. The bed (*firāsh*) remains unqualified, and (*ᶜāhir*) can apply to both adulterers and non-adulterous fornicators.

Through this discussion it is clear that no relationship could be recognized between Ziyād and Abū Sufyān even if hypothetically ᶜUbayd had had no lawful union and we were certain that Abū Sufyān had sired Ziyād. Muᶜāwiyah would still not be Ziyād's brother.

This announcement by Muʿāwiyah that Ziyād was Abū Sufyān's son was a clear rebellion against God's Messenger's commandment, and above all, open rebellion against Islam, and against the Messenger's blessed person; that is why he faced protest by all the Muslims.

Brazen, insolent Muʿāwiyah did not care about the people's objections, and up to the end of his life, he called Ziyād Abū Sufyān's son. In his sermons, [Ziyād] would ask to be called Abū Sufyān's son and sign his letters "Ziyād Ibn Abī Sufyān."

Muʿāwiyah's public announcement of Ziyād's alleged filial relationship to Abū Sufyān made this hadith, *al-walad li al-firāsh wa li al-ʿāhir al-ḥajar*, well known. Otherwise it was like any other statement made by God's Messenger regarding a personal matter—between Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and Ibn Zamʿah—and it would like so many other things he said, just have been an isolated hadith (*khabar wāḥid*). However, it became a famous, widely reported (*mustafiḍ*) hadith among traditionists and historians because such an allegation of a biological familial relationship as that made by Muʿāwiyah, which is one of his most shocking deeds, had affected many companions' lives. They all criticized Muʿāwiyah for doing so because they had heard this clear instruction from God's Messenger. This is one of the four criticisms against Muʿāwiyah that are well known among Muslims:

1. He wronged and rebelled against Imam Ali.
2. He killed Ḥujr Ibn ʿAdī and his companions in Marj ʿAdhrāʾ, Damascus, even though Ḥujr Ibn ʿAdī was a pious companion of the Prophet.
3. He alleged an illegitimate biological filial relationship between Ziyād and Abū Sufyān.
4. He appointed Yazīd as ruler of the Muslims.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says Hasan Baṣrī has stated:

ثَلاثٌ كُنَّ فِي مُعاوِيةَ لَوْلَمْ تَكُنْ فِيهِ إلّا واحِدَةٌ مِنهُنَّ لَكانَتْ مُوبِقَةً: انْتِزاؤُهُ عَلى هَذِهِ الأُمَّةِ بِالسَّفَهاءِ حَتّى ابْتَزَّها أمْرَها، وَاسْتِلْحاقُهُ زِياداً وَقَدْ غَمَّهُ بِقَوْلِ رَسُولِ اللهِ: «الْوَلَدُ لِلْفِراشِ، وَلِلْعاهِرِ الْحَجَرُ» وَقَتْلُهُ حُجْرَ بْنَ عَدِيٍّ، فَياوَيْلَهُ مِن حُجْرٍ وَأصْحابِ حُجْرٍ.[146]

Muʿāwiyah had three [sins], just one of which would have sufficed as a mortal sin. One was inflicting fools on this nation until he had sold off their mandate, alleging a familial relationship to Ziyād in spite of what God's Messenger had said: "The child is of the bed, and for the fornicator there is [just] stone," and of course killing Ḥujr Ibn ʿAdī. Woe on [Muʿāwiyah] for [killing] Ḥujr and Ḥujr's companions.

Now, we understand what kind of people ascended the Prophet's pulpit, the pulpit that was supposed to be ascended by Ali and his offspring, and to be a beacon to teach the Qur'an and the commandments of Islam, to propagate truth and eradicate falsehood. Instead, it became the place to allege illegitimate biological familial relationships between children of adultery and unjust, tyrannical rulers, and for the likes of Muʿāwiyah to climb it and persuade people to give fornication the stamp of legitimacy! See how the noblest Prophet's vision[147] about monkeys jumping on his pulpit came true! Those monkeys referred to were the Umayyads; they are the Accursed Tree referred to in the Holy Qur'an:

وَإِذْ قُلْنَا لَكَ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ أَحَاطَ بِالنَّاسِ وَمَا جَعَلْنَا الرُّؤْيَا الَّتِي أَرَيْنَاكَ إِلَّا فِتْنَةً لِلنَّاسِ وَالشَّجَرَةَ الْمَلْعُونَةَ فِي الْقُرْآنِ وَنُخَوِّفُهُمْ فَمَا يَزِيدُهُمْ إِلَّا طُغْيَانًا كَبِيرًا.

...and [remember] when We said to you: "Surely your Lord encompasses men," and We did not make the vision that We showed you anything but a trial for men and the cursed tree in the Qur'an as well; and We cause them to fear, but it only increases them in great insolence (17:60).

Concerning the interpretation of this Holy Verse, all hadiths agree that *the cursed tree* means [the tree] with which [God] is angry, cast away from God's blessing, the Umayyads, who climbed onto the Prophet's pulpit for eighty years, enjoining people to err.

Note secondly that Ziyād Ibn ʿUbayd, in spite of his courage, strength, composure, and knowledge, was content to call himself Abū Sufyān's illegitimate son, and was proud of it because of love of rank and position. That is because it was the age of the Umayyads, and in sermons and letters all over the land, Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān was stated to be the Master of the Faithful. And naturally Abū Sufyān, being the father of such a personality, was in the highest position among his nation. Feeling proud of being the son of a man like this and the brother of the sultan and ruler at that time, even if it meant the disgrace of being illegitimate, was a turning-point in the life of world-loving Ziyād to show what he had hidden in his mind, and what his soul harbored.

The same Ziyād, while sitting on the pulpit, had said to Abū Maryam Salūlī: "Do not vilify people's mothers!" and had said about his father, ʿUbayd:

أَبٌ مَبْرُورٌ وَوَالٍ مَشْكُور

"A good father and a guardian worthy of thanks," now signed his letters: "From Ziyād, son of Abī Sufyān, to..." Then his transgression

and impudence stemming from love of power and status led him to call Imam Ali corrupt! And to humiliate His Holiness Imam Hasan, he would call him "Hasan, the son of Fāṭimah." Once, in his letter to His Holiness, he was so rude that when the Imam sent the letter to Muʿāwiyah, Muʿāwiyah was shocked and became angry; he then wrote a letter to Ziyād taking him to task for his behavior.[148]

It is understood by what we have said so far that one must always be careful of one's behavior and the way one lives, and keep a close eye on one's commanding self, because pure gold is only known from fool's gold when it is tested!

وعند الامتحان يكرم الرجل او يهان.

"At the time of trial a man is ennobled or humiliated!"

خوش بود گر محك تجربه آيد بميان تا سيه روي شود هر كه دراو غش باشد.

"How good a test there is in life because he who has ill intent is exposed!"

The story of Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, fighting against Imam Ali despite their precedents, is something that must be considered carefully. Historians record the eventual outcome of ʿAbdu'lāh Ibn ʿAbbās, who had been appointed governor of Basra by Imam Ali, but ultimately stole pieces of jewelry from the public treasury and escaped to the Hijaz. Then he purchased three beautiful female slaves for three thousand dinars! Imam Ali took him to task, and his replies to Imam Ali's letters were vapid and indeed insolent; all these are recorded by historians.[149]

We understand from all this that Shiʿism is more than mere utterance and confession with our tongues. If it were not so, then Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Ziyād, and Ibn ʿAbbās would all be Shiʿa and the followers of His Holiness! However, when gold was poured onto them or when the neighing of warhorses, the tumult of the warriors, and the flapping of the banners of chieftainship and governance reached their ears, they all changed. That is when he who stands firm can be distinguished from him who crumbles and whose foot slips into the pit of desires, and who is cast into Hell! The love of leadership, and a sense of superiority, conceit, and the love of property and pure gold, harmonious tones, and listening to songs blind and deafen!

حب الشيء يعمي ويصم

"Love of anything, blinds and deafens."

How beautifully the Glorious Qur'an explains this truth:

لَعَمْرُكَ إِنَّهُمْ لَفِي سَكْرَتِهِمْ يَعْمَهُونَ

By your life, they were wandering blindly in their intoxication (15:72).

By your life, O, Prophet, Lot's people and [other] worldly people err in the intoxication of confusion, obliviousness, and personal desires.

Muʿāwiyah Gave Thanks by Prostrating When Imam Hasan's Death Was Announced to Him

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih al-Andalusī says:

> When the news of Imam Hasan Mujtabā Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's death reached Muʿāwiyah, he threw himself prostrate before God. Then he sent to Ibn ʿAbbās and [his companions] in Damascus and passed on his condolences, all the while celebrating [the Imam's death].
>
> Muʿāwiyah asked Ibn ʿAbbās: "How old was Abū Muhammad, [His Holiness Imam Hasan]?"
>
> Ibn ʿAbbās replied: "His life was known to all Quraysh. It is very strange that a man like you is ignorant of it!"
>
> Muʿāwiyah said: "I am informed that he has left behind young children."
>
> Ibn ʿAbbās said: "Everyone who was once an infant grows up; our children are middle-aged, and our young are old." And then he added: "O Muʿāwiyah, what is the reason that I see you celebrate Hasan Ibn Ali's death?! By God, it will not delay your death or block up your grave! And how little we and you will outlive him!" Then Ibn ʿAbbās left, and Muʿāwiyah sent his son, Yazīd, to him. [Yazīd] sat in front of him offering his condolences, and wept over Hasan's death. Then, when he was leaving him, Ibn ʿAbbās followed him with his gaze and said: "When the men of war pass away, tolerance disappears from among the people."[150]

In any case, the Status Hadith, some narrations of which we have related in this discussion, clearly awards the status of helper and successor (Caliph) to Imam Ali and makes him like the Prophet; that is if the prophethood had not been sealed with the Prophet, without doubt, Imam Ali would also have received the rank of the Prophet, because, according to this hadith, all statuses such as successor, Master, Imam, executor, and brother are predicated of the Imam.

In *Ghāyat al-Marām*, blessed Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī quotes verbatim Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's argument on the basis of the same evidence as that relied on by the Shi'a, to prove Imam Ali's Guardianship as deduced from the Qur'anic verse and the Status Hadith:

> Explicit proof from the Book and the Sunnah that Ali is God's Messenger's aide is Exalted God's words:
>
> وَاجْعَلْ لِي وَزِيرًا مِنْ أَهْلِي هَارُونَ أَخِي اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي
>
> *And appoint for me an aide from my family—Aaron, my brother. Strengthen my back through him and make him share my task* (20:29–32) and the Prophet's words in a tradition over which there is a consensus of narration among all sects of Islam:
>
> أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي
>
> "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."
>
> Thus, all Aaron's ranks and statuses relative to Moses are predicated of Imam Ali, so Ali is God's Messenger's aide. That is, if the Prophet were not the Seal of the Prophets, Ali would certainly be a prophet after him.

Here ends Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's statement.

Muḥaddith Baḥrānī (may God have mercy on him) says:

> Look at what the Sunnis (*mukhālifīn*) narrate concerning God's Messenger's explicit appointment of the Master of the Faithful in a proof-text over which there is a consensus of narration among all sects of Islam, as stated by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and by others. It is a clear concession by the Sunnis that God's Messenger did not pass away until he had appointed Ali as Imam, successor (Caliph), and aide. This is exactly what the Shi'a say.
>
> Therefore, the rejection by some Sunnis, like Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, elsewhere in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, is false, because of the clear proof to the contrary, and his own concession that an explicit appointment was made—that all Aaron's ranks and statuses relative to Moses are predicated of Ali except prophethood, because God's Messenger is the Seal of the Prophets. If he were not the Seal of the Prophets, Ali would have been [the Prophet's] partner in prophethood.
>
> This is clearly dictated by the explicit appointment of Ali as Imam, Caliph, and aide, which is exactly the same as what Aaron was to Moses. This is plain and clear and needs no explanation:

وَاللهُ يَهْدِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ وَأَعُوذُ بِاللهِ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى مِنَ الضَّلَالَةِ بَعْدَ تَبَيُّنِ الْهُدَى وَالْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ.[151]

And God guides whom He wills to the straight path (24:46), and I seek refuge in Transcendent and Exalted God, from error after the clarification of guidance; and praise be to God, the Lord of all worlds.

God's Messenger's Testamentary Instruction to the Supporters, and Explanation of the Status Hadith

It is also related in *Ghāyat al-Marām* from the great Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim Ali Ibn Mūsā Ibn Jaʿfar Ibn Ṭāwūs:

> Thirty-three: concerning the explicit appointment of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Master of the Faithful, as Imam, successor, and executor: The tenth twinkle (*tarfah*) regarding God's Messenger's explicit deathbed statement, to young and old, and the people of the metropolises, in the presence of the Helpers, concerning the Caliphate of Ali, related from [His Holiness] Abū al-Hasan Mūsā Ibn Jaʿfar, from his father, [who] said:
>
> > When death came to God's Messenger, he called the Supporters (Anṣār), and told them:
> >
> > > O ye Anṣār! The time has come to be separated; I have been called, and I must answer the caller! You have sheltered us and been good protectors. You have supported and been good supporters. You have shared your properties and provided abundant accommodation. You have given your life-blood for God! And God will give you the fullest reward for what you have done!
> > >
> > > There remains only one thing, and it is the perfection of [your] protection and conclusion of [your] action, and everything you have done is linked to it.
> > >
> > > And I do not deem it appropriate to distinguish between either of them. The distance between them is indistinguishable from a hair's width. Whoever does one, but leaves the other, rejects the former, and God will not accept any of his deeds.
> >
> > The Anṣār said:
> >
> > > O God's Messenger! Make it clear to us [so that] we know it and do not refrain from it, go astray, or turn away from Islam

and the blessing from God and His Messenger upon us, because God has saved us through you from doom! O God's Messenger! You have delivered. You have advised us! And you have carried out [your responsibility]! And you have been kind, merciful, compassionate, and sympathetic to us! So, what is it, God's Messenger?

قَالَ لَهُمْ: كِتَابُ اللهِ وَأَهْلُ بَيْتِي، فَإِنَّ الْكِتَابَ هُوَ الْقُرْآنُ، فِيهِ الْحُجَّةُ وَالنُّورُ وَالْبُرْهَانُ، كَلَامُ اللهِ جَدِيدٌ غَضٌّ طَرِيٌّ وَشَاهِدٌ وَحَاكِمٌ عَادِلٌ قَائِدٌ بِحَلَالِهِ وَحَرَامِهِ وَأَحْكَامِهِ يَقُومُ بِهِ غَداً فَيُحَاجُّ بِهِ أَقْوَاماً فَتُزِلُّ أَقْدَامُهُمْ عَنِ الصِّرَاطِ.

He told them:

God's Book and my Household; the Book is the Qur'an. Therein is the evidence, light, and proof. God's word is always new, fresh, succulent, testimony, and a fair judge, leading with its [explanation of what is] lawful and unlawful, and its laws. He will advocate it on the next day [of the Resurrection], and different tribes will be argued with on the basis of it; their feet will then slip from the Path (*al-ṣirāṭ*).

فَاحْفَظُوا مَعَاشِرَ الْأَنْصَارِ فِي أَهْلِ بَيْتِي فَإِنَّ اللَّطِيفَ الْخَبِيرَ قَالَ: إِنَّهُمَا لَنْ يَفْتَرِقَا حَتَّى يَرِدَا عَلَيَّ الْحَوْضَ. أَلَا وَإِنَّ الْإِسْلَامَ سَقْفٌ تَحْتَهُ دِعَامَةٌ، وَلَا يَقُومُ السَّقْفُ إِلَّا بِهَا فَلَوْ أَنَّ أَحَدَكُمْ أَتَى بِذَلِكَ السَّقْفِ يَمْنُدُ وَلَا دِعَامَةَ تَحْتَهُ، لَأَوْشَكَ أَنْ يَجِرَّ عَلَيْهِ سَقْفُهُ لَهَوَى فِي النَّارِ.

O ye Anṣār! Look after my Household, because the All-Subtle and All-Aware has stated that they [the Qur'an and my Household] will never separate from each other until they reach me by the Pool.

Be aware that Islam is a roof under which there is a strong pillar; that roof cannot stand on its own without the pillar! If anyone wants to support that roof without its pillar, it will soon collapse upon him; he will certainly fall into Hell!

أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ الدِّعَامَةُ دِعَامَةُ الْإِسْلَامِ، وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُ اللهِ تَعَالَى: «إِلَيْهِ يَصْعَدُ الْكَلِمُ الطَّيِّبُ وَالْعَمَلُ الصَّالِحُ يَرْفَعُهُ» فَالْعَمَلُ الصَّالِحُ طَاعَةُ الْإِمَامِ وَلِيِّ الْأَمْرِ وَالتَّمَسُّكُ بِحَبْلِ اللهِ أَلَا فَهِمْتُمْ؟! اللهَ اللهَ فِي أَهْلِ بَيْتِي، مَصَابِيحِ الظَّلَامِ، وَمَعَادِنِ الْعِلْمِ، وَيَنَابِيعِ الْحِكَمِ،

وَمُسْتَقَرُّ الْمَلَائِكَةِ؛ مِنْهُمْ وَصِيِّي، وَأَمِينِي، وَوَارِثِي مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، أَلَا هَلْ بَلَّغْتُ؟!

O people, the strong support is the strong support of Islam, that is [as per] Almighty God's words: *To Him do ascend the good words; and the good deeds, lift them up* (35:10). The good word is obedience to the Imam who is in charge, and clinging to God's rope. Lo! have you understood?!

Fear ye God, fear ye God[152] with respect to my Household, lamps in the deep darkness, the treasures of knowledge, the springs of the wise sayings; and resting places for the angels.

One of them is my executor, my trustee, and my heir, who is to me as Aaron was to Moses! Lo! Have I delivered?

وَاللهِ يَا مَعْشَرَ الْأَنْصَارِ أَلَا اسْمَعُوا أَلَا إِنَّ بَابَ فَاطِمَةَ بَابِي؛ وَبَيْتُهَا بَيْتِي؛ فَمَنْ هَتَكَهُ هَتَكَ حِجَابَ اللهِ؛

O ye Anṣār! Lo! Listen! Lo! Fāṭimah's door is my door, and her house is my house, so whoever breaches it, breaches God's veil!

ʿĪsā, the narrator of this hadith from Mūsā Ibn Jaʿfar, says:

فَبَكَى أَبُو الْحَسَنِ صَلَوَاتُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ طَوِيلًا وَقُطِعَ عَنْهُ بَقِيَّةُ الْحَدِيثِ؛ وَأَكْثَرَ الْبُكَاءَ؛ وَقَالَ: هُتِكَ حِجَابُ اللهِ؛ هُتِكَ وَاللهِ حِجَابُ اللهِ؛ هُتِكَ وَاللهِ حِجَابُ اللهِ؛ يَا أُمَّةَ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَوَاتُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ[153]

Abū al-Hasan [Mūsā Ibn Jaʿfar] wept for such a long while that the rest of the hadith was cut off. He wept profusely and said: "God's veil was breached; by God, God's veil was breached; by God, God's veil was breached, O nation of Muhammad, God's blessings upon him and his family!"

However, Imam Ṣādiq explained how the veil was breached and the hadith was not cut off.

As a Result of Omar's and Qunfudh's Vicious Attacks, Fāṭimah Gave Stillbirth after a Pregnancy of Six Months

Ṭabarī, in *Dalāʾil al-Imāmah*, relates from Muhammad Ibn Hārūn Ibn Mūsā Talʿakbarī, from his father, from Muhammad Ibn Hammām,

from Aḥmad Barqī, from Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn ʿĪsā, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Najrān, from Ibn Sinān, from Ibn Muskān, from Abū Baṣīr, from Abū ʿAbdillāh Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad, who said:

قُبِضَت فَاطِمَةُ فِي جُمَادَى الآخِرَةِ يَوْمَ الثَّلاثَاءِ لِثَلاثٍ خَلَوْنَ مِنهُ سَنَةَ إِحْدَى عَشَرَ مِنَ الهِجْرَةِ، وَكَانَ سَبَبُ وَفَاتِهَا أَنْ قُنْفُذَ مَوْلَى عُمَرَ كَسَرَهَا[154] بِنَعْلِ[155] السَّيْفِ بِأَمْرِهِ فَأَسْقَطَتْ مُحَسِناً وَمَرِضَتْ مِن ذَلِكَ مَرَضاً شَدِيداً وَلَمْ يَدَعْ أَحَداً مِمَّنْ آذَاهَا يَدْخُلُ عَلَيْهَا—الحديث[156]

Fāṭimah passed away on Tuesday, the third of Jumādā al-Thānī, 11 AH; the cause of her death was that Omar's servant Qunfudh, by [Omar's] command, beat her back with the iron butt of his sword's scabbard.

She then gave stillbirth to Muḥsin, and became severely ill as a result of that; she did not let any of those who hurt her come to visit her.

Sulaym Ibn Qays narrates that when Omar pressed the door against the wall the second time

نَادَتْ يَا أَبَتَاهُ هَكَذَا يُفْعَلُ بِحَبِيبَتِكَ، وَاسْتَغَاثَتْ (بِفِضَّةَ) جَارِيَتِهَا وَقَالَتْ: لَقَدْ قُتِلَ مَا فِي بَطْنِي مِن حَمْلٍ.[157] وَخَرَجَ أَمِيرُ المُؤمِنِينَ عليه السلام فَأَلْقَى عَلَيْهَا مُلاءَةً[158] فَأَسْقَطَتْ حَمْلاً لِسِتَّةِ أَشْهُرٍ سَمَّاهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وآله وسلم مُحَسِناً—الحديث[159]

[Fāṭimah] cried: "O dearest father, such is done to your darling!" She sought the assistance of her maid [Fiḍḍah] and said: "The baby in my womb has been killed!"

Imam Ali emerged and threw a cover (*mulāʾah*) over her, and she gave stillbirth to the baby she had carried for six months, whom God's Messenger had named Muḥsin...

Anyone familiar with hadith collections, and who knows historical and biographical books, will not doubt that it was Omar who carried the sticks to Fāṭimah's front door, either with intent, or as a threat, to burn down her house.[160]

The *Wasīlah* Sermon, and Explanation of the Status Hadith a Week after the Prophet's Death

After God's Messenger passed away [and] when the usurpers of the Caliphate had done what they had done, and inflicted whatever disasters they had inflicted on Islam and the Household of Prophecy, Imam Ali delivered a sermon in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. It is known as the *Wasīlah* Sermon. It is lengthy and comprehensive, including recommendations, advice, wise sayings, explanations of the truth, and guidance to the straight and blissful path of benefit from and enjoyment of God's blessings in this world and the next, both carnal and spiritual, manifest and hidden, and explanation of his own status, level, and position, unreached by and unimaginable for any envoy prophet[161] or favored angel. If the Shiʿa had no other sermon, this one would suffice to explain [the Imam's] school and its greatness. And if the people of Medina, at that time, had known the real meaning of the sermon, abandoned their chiefs' devilishness, and denied themselves through self-sacrifice and putting others first, they would have answered the Imam's call, and put off tyrannical, deviant, and sacrilegious rulers and emirs, and accepted their true Imam as Master; and grace, blessing, mercy, good health, and happiness would have descended upon them and sprung out of the earth and flooded them from four directions. The history of Islam, the Imamate, and the leadership would have taken on a completely different nature, and the people would have thought they were in Heaven. But alas, and a hundred times more: alas! A savage and wrong-doing person's evil nature does not let him exit Hell and step on the path of everlasting life!

Those narrow-minded Arabs said to the greatest truthful woman (*al-Ṣiddīqat al-Kubrā*): "What you say is correct, and we know that this position is predicated of Ali. However, our pledge of allegiance has already been made to this man [Abū Bakr], and we cannot turn away from [our commitment]."[162]

In any case, blessed Muhammad Ibn Yaʿqūb Kulaynī has narrated this hadith in its entirety in *Rawḍat al-Kāfī*, from Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Muʿammar, from Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn ʿUkāyah Tamīmī, from Husayn Ibn Naṣr Fihrī, from Abū ʿAmr Awzāʿ, from ʿAmr Ibn Shimr, from Jābir Ibn Yazīd, [who] said:

> I went to see Imam Bāqir and said: "O God's Messenger's son! The Shiʿa's difference of opinion and doctrinal position hurts and pains me!"

The Imam said: "Would you not like me to tell you what the meaning of their disagreement is, where their disagreement comes from, and with respect to what they have become disunited?"

I said: "Yes, [I would], O God's Messenger's son!"

[His Holiness] stated:

...So that you do not disagree, when they disagree?

يا جابِرُ! إنَّ الجاحِدَ لِصاحِبِ الزَّمانِ كالجاحِدِ لِرَسُولِ اللهِ صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم فى أيّامِه

O Jābir! Whoever rejects whichever [Imam's] time it is, is like whoever rejected God's Messenger in his lifetime.

O Jābir, listen and remember.

I answered: "If you will."[163]

[His Holiness] stated: "O Jābir, listen and remember; and deliver wherever your camel takes you."

Seven days after God's Messenger's passing—when he had finished putting together and compiling the Qur'an—Imam Ali delivered a sermon to the people in Medina. He said:

الحَمدُ لِلّهِ الَّذى مَنَعَ الأوهامَ أن تَنالَ إلا وُجودَهُ وحَجَبَ العُقولَ أن تَتَخَيَّلَ ذاتَه...

"Praise be to God Who prevented fancies from reaching anything but His existence and veiled minds from imagining His Essence..."

After eloquent praise and handsome glorification, and blessings upon God's Messenger and setting out the Qur'anic proof of his Imamate he said:

فَإنَّ اللهَ تَبارَكَ اسمُهُ امتَحَنَ بى عِبادَهُ، وَتَلَ يَدى أضْدادَهُ، وَأقَنى بِسَيفى جُحّادَهُ، وَجَعَلَنى زُلفَةً لِلمُؤمِنينَ، وَحِياضَ مَوتٍ عَلَى الجَبّارينَ، وَسَيفَهُ عَلَى المُجرِمينَ، وَشَدَّ بى أزْرَ رَسُولِهِ، وَأكرَمَنى بِنَصرِهِ، وَشَرَّفَنى بِعِلمِهِ، وَحَبانى بِأحكامِهِ، وَاختَصَّنى بِوَصِيَّتِهِ، وَاصطَفانى بِخِلافَتِهِ فى أمَّتِهِ، فَقالَ: صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وآله وسلّم، وَقَد حَشَدَ المُهاجِرونَ وَالأنصارُ وَانغَصَّت بِهِمُ المَحافِلُ: (142:7) أيُّها النّاسُ، إنَّ عَلِيا مِنّى كَهارونَ مِن مُوسَى إلّا أنَّهُ لا نَبِيَّ بَعدى، فَعَقَلَ المُؤمِنونَ عَنِ اللهِ نُطقَ الرَّسُولِ، إذ عَرَفُونى أنّى لَستُ بِأخِيهِ لأبِيهِ وَأمِّهِ، كَما كانَ هارونُ أخا مُوسَى لأبِيهِ وَأمِّهِ، وَلا كُنتُ

نَبِيًا فَاقْتَضَى نُبُوَّةً وَلَكِنْ كَانَ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُ اسْتِخْلَافًا لِي كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ مُوسَى هَارُونَ عَلَيْهِمَا السَّلَامُ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ: اخْلُفْنِي فِي قَوْمِي وَأَصْلِحْ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ سَبِيلَ الْمُفْسِدِينَ.

So, indeed God, Blessed be His name, tried His servants by me, and slew His opponents with my hand, and annihilated with my sword those who rejected Him. He made me a means for the believers to gain favor, and pools of death against tyrants, and His sword against criminals. He strengthened His Messenger's back with me, ennobled me through [my] assisting him, and honored me with his knowledge. He bestowed his laws upon me. He made me his sole executor, and chose me as his successor among his nation.

When all the Supporters and the Migrants had come together and the assembly was overcrowded, he proclaimed: "O people! Surely Ali is to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me!"

And all the believers understood from God what the Messenger said, because they knew me—that I was not his paternal and maternal brother in the way that Aaron was Moses's paternal and maternal brother. And I was not a prophet so as to exact prophethood. However, that was by him an appointment of me as successor, just as Moses appointed Aaron as successor when he said: *Take my place among my people, and keep the peace and do not follow the way of the mischief-makers* (7:142).

Then the Master of the Faithful carried on telling the story of the Farewell Pilgrimage and explaining the hadith: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," and the revelation of the perfection of the religion and the completion of His favor verse; after fully explaining Satan's domination and misguidance of man, he said:

The *Wasīlah* Sermon and Explanation of People's Deviation from God's Messenger

حَتَّى إِذَا دَعَا اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ نَبِيَّهُ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَرَفَعَهُ إِلَيْهِ لَمْ يَتْرُكْ ذَلِكَ بَعْدَهُ إِلَّا كَلَمْحَةٍ مِنْ خَفْقَةٍ، أَوْ وَمِيضٍ مِنْ بَرْقَةٍ إِلَى أَنْ رَجَعُوا عَلَى الْأَعْقَابِ، وَانْتَكَصُوا عَلَى الْأَدْبَارِ، وَطَلَبُوا بِالْأَوْتَارِ، وَأَظْهَرُوا الْكَتَائِبَ، وَرَدَمُوا الْبَابَ، وَفَلُّوا الدِّيَارَ، وَغَيَّرُوا آثَارَ رَسُولِ اللهِ، وَرَغِبُوا عَنْ أَحْكَامِهِ، وَبَعَدُوا مِنْ أَنْوَارِهِ، وَاسْتَبْدَلُوا بِمُسْتَخْلَفِهِ بَدِيلًا اتَّخَذُوهُ وَكَانُوا ظَالِمِينَ.

وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّ مَنِ اخْتَارُوا مِنْ آلِ أَبِي قُحَافَةَ أَوْلَى بِمَقَامِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وآله وسلم مِمَّنِ اخْتَارَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ لِمَقَامِهِ؛ وَأَنَّ مُهَاجِرَ آلِ أَبِي قُحَافَةَ خَيْرٌ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِ الْأَنْصَارِيِّ الرَّبَّانِيِّ نَامُوسِ هَاشِمِ بْنِ عَبْدِ مَنَافٍ.

أَلَا وَإِنَّ أَوَّلَ شَهَادَةِ زُورٍ وَقَعَتْ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ شَهَادَتُهُمْ أَنَّ صَاحِبَهُمْ مُسْتَخْلَفُ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وآله وسلم.

Until when God, the Honorable and Exalted, called His Prophet to Him, and raised him up, and after no more than the closing of a dozing eye, or a flash of lightning, they turned on their heels, demanded blood-wits, formed battalions, closed the gates to blessings, broke into houses, changed God's Messenger's legacies,[164] loathed his commandments, strayed far from his light, and exchanged for his successor an alternative whom they had unjustly appointed!

They claimed that the one they had chosen from Abū Quḥāfah's family was worthier of God's Messenger's place than the one God's Messenger had already chosen to take his place. They thought that Abū Quḥāfah's family's migrant was better than the migrant, the helper, the man of God's, Hāshim Ibn ʿAbd Manāf's, good name.

Lo! Indeed the first false testimony that occurred in Islam was their testimony that their companion is God's Messenger's successor.

He continued the sermon, eventually saying:

أَلَا وَإِنِّي فِيكُمْ أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ كَهَارُونَ فِي آلِ فِرْعَوْنَ وَكَبَابِ حِطَّةٍ فِي بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَكَسَفِينَةِ نُوحٍ فِي قَوْمِ نُوحٍ؛

إِنِّي النَّبَأُ الْعَظِيمُ؛ وَالصِّدِّيقُ الْأَكْبَرُ وَعَنْ قَلِيلٍ سَتَعْلَمُونَ مَا تُوعَدُونَ؛

وَهَلْ هِيَ إِلَّا كَلْمَعَةِ الْآكِلِ؛ وَمَذْقَةِ الشَّارِبِ؛ وَخَفْقَةِ الْوَسْنَانِ؟ ثُمَّ تَلْزَمُهُمُ الْمَرَّاتُ خِزْيًا فِي الدُّنْيَا وَيَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ يُرَدُّونَ إِلَى أَشَدِّ الْعَذَابِ؛ وَمَا اللهُ بِغَافِلٍ عَمَّا يَعْمَلُونَ. فَمَا جَزَاءُ مَنْ تَنَكَّبَ مَحَجَّتَهُ؛ وَأَنْكَرَ حُجَّتَهُ وَخَالَفَ هُدَاتَهُ؛ وَحَادَ عَنْ نُورِهِ؛ وَاقْتَحَمَ فِي ظُلْمِهِ؛ وَاسْتَبْدَلَ بِالْمَاءِ السَّرَابَ؛ وَبِالنَّعِيمِ الْعَذَابَ؛ وَبِالْفَوْزِ الشَّقَاءَ وَبِالسَّرَّاءِ الضَّرَّاءَ؛ وَبِالسَّعَةِ الضَّنْكَ؛ إِلَّا جَزَاءُ اقْتِرَافِهِ وَسُوءِ خِلَافِهِ؛ فَلْيَوْقِنُوا بِالْوَعْدِ عَلَى حَقِيقَتِهِ؛ وَلْيَسْتَيْقِنُوا بِمَا يُوعَدُونَ؛

يَوْمَ تَأْتِي الصَّيْحَةُ بِالْحَقِّ ذَلِكَ يَوْمُ الْخُرُوجِ؛ إِنَّا نَحْنُ نُحْيِي وَنُمِيتُ وَإِلَيْنَا الْمَصِيرُ. يَوْمَ تَشَقَّقُ الْأَرْضُ عَنْهُمْ سِرَاعًا ذَلِكَ حَشْرٌ عَلَيْنَا يَسِيرٌ. نَحْنُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا يَقُولُونَ وَمَا أَنْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ بِجَبَّارٍ فَذَكِّرْ بِالْقُرْآنِ مَنْ يَخَافُ وَعِيدِ[165]

O people, beware! I am to you as Aaron was to Pharaoh's family and as the Gate of Remission was to the Israelites or as Noah's Ark was to Noah's people.

I am the great tiding. I am the greatest truthful one, and before long, you will get to know what you have been promised! What is it but a diner's left-over morsel, a drop left by someone who has finished drinking, and a dozer's nap!

Disgraces will then stick shame to them in this world, and on the Day of Resurrection, they will be brought back for the severest punishment—*and God is not unaware of what they do* (2:58).

So, what is the reward of one who turns away from His proof, and denies His evidence, opposes His guides, turns away from His light, plunges into pitch darkness, and exchanges for water a mirage, and for grace punishment, for prosperity abjection, for ease difficulty, and for abundance straitness? It is naught but the punishment for his perpetration and the evilness of his contrariety. He will then be certain of the promise, true as it is, and be certain of what they have been threatened!

The Day when the cry brings the truth—that will be the day of coming forth! *Surely We give life and cause to die, and to Us is the eventual coming. The day on which the earth shall cleave asunder under them, they will make haste; that is a gathering together easy to Us. We know best what they say, and you are not one to compel them; therefore remind him by means of the Quran who fears My threat* (50:43–45).

The *Ṭālūtiyyah* Sermon, and Imam Ali's Complaint about the People's Hesitation

Imam Ali delivered another sermon in Medina at the time of the Prophet's passing. As there is reference to Ṭālūt (Saul) in it, it is called the *Ṭālūtiyyah* Sermon.

Kulaynī also relates this hadith [but this time] via his chain from Abū al-Haytham Ibn Tayyihān, who said:

The Master of the Faithful delivered a sermon to the people, and said:

اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِی لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا هُوَ کَانَ حَیًّا بِلَا کَیْفٍ

"Praise be to God apart from Whom there is no other god, living without modality."

He then continued the very interesting sermon on God's attributes. Next he bore witness to God's Unity, and the Prophet's prophethood and mission, eventually saying:

اَیُّهَا الْاُمَّةُ الَّتِی خُدِعَتْ فَانْخَدَعَتْ، وَعَرَفَتْ خَدِیعَةَ مَنْ خَدَعَهَا، فَاَصَرَّتْ عَلَی مَا عَرَفَتْ، وَاتَّبَعَتْ اَهْوَاءَهَا، وَضَرَبَتْ فِی عَشْوَاءِ غَوَایَتِهَا، وَقَدِ اسْتَبَانَ لَهَا الْحَقُّ فَصَدَّتْ عَنْهُ، وَالطَّرِیقُ الْوَاضِحُ فَتَنَکَّبَتْهُ

اَمَا وَالَّذِی فَلَقَ الْحَبَّةَ وَبَرَأَ النَّسَمَةَ لَوِ اقْتَبَسْتُمُ الْعِلْمَ مِنْ مَعْدِنِهِ، وَشَرِبْتُمُ الْمَاءَ بِعُذُوبَتِهِ، وَاَدْخَرْتُمُ الْخَیْرَ مِنْ مَوْضِعِهِ وَاَخَذْتُمُ الطَّرِیقَ مِنْ وَاضِحِهِ وَسَلَکْتُمْ مِنَ الْحَقِّ نَهْجَهُ، لَنَهَجَتْ بِکُمُ السُّبُلُ، وَبَدَتْ لَکُمُ الْاَعْلَامُ، وَاَضَاءَ لَکُمُ الْاِسْلَامُ، فَاَکَلْتُمْ رَغَداً، وَمَا عَالَ فِیکُمْ عَائِلٌ، وَلَا ظُلِمَ مِنْکُمْ مُسْلِمٌ وَلَا مُعَاهِدٌ، وَلَکِنْ سَلَکْتُمْ سَیْلَ الظَّلَامِ، فَاَظْلَمَتْ عَلَیْکُمْ دُنْیَاکُمْ بِرَحْبِهَا وَسُدَّتْ عَلَیْکُمْ اَبْوَابُ الْعِلْمِ، فَهُمْ بِاَهْوَائِکُمْ وَاخْتَلَفْتُمْ فِی دِینِکُمْ، فَاَحْیَیْتُمْ فِی دِینِ اللّٰهِ بِغَیْرِ عِلْمٍ، وَاَتْبَعْتُمُ الْغُوَاةَ فَاَغْوَتْکُمْ وَتَرَکْتُمُ الْاَئِمَّةَ فَتَرَکُوکُمْ.

فَاَصْبَحْتُمْ تَحْکُمُونَ بِاَهْوَائِکُمْ، اِذَا ذُکِرَ الْاَمْرُ سَاَلْتُمْ اَهْلَ الذِّکْرِ، فَاِذَا اَتَوْکُمْ قُلْتُمْ هُوَ الْعِلْمُ بِعَیْنِهِ، فَکَیْفَ وَقَدْ تَرَکْتُمُوهُ، وَنَبَذْتُمُوهُ، وَخَالَفْتُمُوهُ.

رُوَیْدَاً عَمَّا قَلِیلٍ تَحْصُدُونَ جَمِیعَ مَا زَرَعْتُمْ، وَتَجْدُونَ وَخِیمَ مَا اجْتَرَمْتُمْ، وَمَا اجْتَلَبْتُمْ، وَالَّذِی فَلَقَ الْحَبَّةَ وَبَرَأَ النَّسَمَةَ لَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ اَنِّی صَاحِبُکُمْ وَالَّذِی بِهِ اُمِرْتُمْ وَاَنِّی عَالِمُکُمْ، وَالَّذِی بِعِلْمِهِ نَجَاتُکُمْ، وَوَصِیُّ نَبِیِّکُمْ، وَخِیَرَةُ رَبِّکُمْ، وَلِسَانُ نُورِکُمْ وَالْعَالِمُ بِمَا یُصْلِحُکُمْ، فَمَنْ قَلِیلٍ رُوَیْدَاً یَنْزِلُ بِکُمْ مَا وُعِدْتُمْ وَمَا نَزَلَ بِالْاُمَمِ قَبْلَکُمْ وَسَیَاْلُکُمُ اللّٰهُ عَزَّوَجَلَّ عَنْ اَئِمَّتِکُمْ، مَعَهُمْ تُحْشَرُونَ وَاِلَی اللّٰهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ غَداً تَصِیرُونَ.

اَمَا وَاللّٰهِ لَوْ کَانَ لِی عِدَّةُ اَصْحَابِ طَالُوتَ، اَوْ عِدَّةُ اَهْلِ بَدْرٍ، وَهُمْ اَعْدَادُ کُلِّ اَصَرَّتْکُمْ بِالسَّیْفِ حَتَّی تَؤُوبُوا اِلَی الْحَقِّ وَتُنِیبُوا لِلصِّدْقِ، فَکَانَ اَرْتَقَ لِلْفَتْقِ، وَاَخَذَ بِالرِّفْقِ. اَللّٰهُمَّ فَاحْکُمْ بَیْنَنَا بِالْحَقِّ وَاَنْتَ خَیْرُ الْحَاکِمِینَ.

O ye nation that has been deceived, and allowed itself to be deceived and persisted at what it knows [to be wrong], and followed its whims and proceeded on the darkest path presented to it. The

truth is clear, but it turned away from it and the path is clear, but it deviated from it!

Beware! By Him who has split the seed and created the souls, if you had learned knowledge from its source, drunk water when sweet, gathered goodness from its place, taken the clear trail, and traveled the path of truth, the ways would have taken you, the banners would have been visible to you, and Islam would have illuminated you. You would have eaten opulently, and no breadwinner among you would have had to provide. No Muslim among you or non-Muslim protected by covenant would ever be oppressed. But you traveled the way of darkness, and your world is dark for you in spite of its vastness. The doors of knowledge have been shut to you, and you have spoken according to your whims, disagreed over your religion, and passed edicts without [requisite] knowledge in God's religion, and followed error, and it has made you err, and you have forsaken the Imams, and they have forsaken you.

So you have started ruling in accordance with your whims. When a matter was raised, you asked the People of Remembrance, and when they ruled for you, you said it was knowledge itself. So how could you forsake it, cast it away, and disobey it?!

Easy now; shortly you will reap everything that you have sown, and you will find the unwholesomeness of the sin you have committed and what you have procured.

By Him Who split the seed and created the soul, you know that I am your companion and am the bearer of the banner of Guardianship! I am the very person that you have been commanded to follow. I am the only learned one among you through whose knowledge is your salvation, and [I am] your Prophet's executor, your Lord's chosen, the tongue of your light, and the knower of what is good for you. Shortly that which you have been promised and which befell the nations before you will befall you, and Mighty and Sublime God will ask you about your Imams. You will be assembled with them, and on the morrow you will proceed towards Mighty and Sublime God.

By God, if I had as many companions as Saul (Ṭālūt), or the same number who fought at Badr—and they are as many as you—I would strike with the sword until you return to the right path and turn repentantly to truthfulness, and it would be a better mending of the split and more receptive to compassion. O God! Judge among us with the truth, for You are the best of judges!

The Imam concluded the sermon up to this point, and then left the mosque. He then passed by an enclosure (*ṣirah*)[166] in which there were about thirty sheep. So he said: "If I had as many men loyal to Mighty and Sublime God and to His Messenger as these sheep, I would depose the son of the eater of flies from his government!"[167]

[The narrator of this hadith, Abū al-Haytham Ibn al-Tayyihān, says:]

Then, when he emerged from his afternoon repose, 360 men swore allegiance to him to the death, not to stop supporting him.

So the Master of the Faithful said to them: "Come with us to Aḥjār al-Zayt[168] tomorrow morning, armored, armed, and with shaved heads."[169]

The Imam himself put on his hauberk, or shaved his head, but not a single one of those people kept his word by arriving so armored or shaven-headed except Abū Dharr, Miqdād, Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān, and ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir. Salmān came last.

So the Imam said:

> O God, bear witness that these people considered me to be weak, just as the Israelites considered Aaron to be weak.

> اللّٰهُمَّ فَإِنَّكَ تَعْلَمُ مَا نُخْفِي وَمَا نُعْلِنُ وَمَا يَخْفَى عَلَيْكَ شَيْءٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِي السَّمَاءِ[170] تَوَفَّنِي مُسْلِماً وَأَلْحِقْنِي بِالصَّالِحِينَ.[171]

> O God, You certainly know what we keep secret and what we reveal; and nothing on earth or in Heaven is hidden from You. *Make me die a Muslim and join me with the good* (12:101).

> Lo! By the Lord of the Holy House, and the Lord of him who touched the House with his own hand (*al-mufḍī ilā al-bayt*) [the Prophet], and of those slippers and feet towards Minā to throw stones, if the Meccan (*Ummī*) Prophet had not bound me over by covenant, I would have brought the opponents the cloud of death, and I would visit upon them the showers of the lightning bolts of death; you will soon realize.[172]

Now, it has become quite clear that the reason Imam Ali kept quiet, after the death of the Prophet, was due to the Prophet's testamentary instruction to him not to fight with his enemies, when they take his right away from him and usurp the Caliphate and the Guardianship; by his fighting with them, a great many people would be killed, and Islam would lose its power and become weak. Therefore, his best course was to keep quiet, especially without loyal followers.

In *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niᶜmah*, Shaykh Ṣadūq relates from Ibn al-Walīd, from Ibn al-Hasan al-Ṣaffār, from Yaᶜqūb Ibn Yazīd, from Ḥammād Ibn ᶜĪsā, from Omar Ibn Udhaynah, from Abān Ibn Abī ᶜAyyāsh, from Ibrāhīm Ibn Omar al-Yamānī, from Sulaym Ibn Qays al-Hilālī, who said:

[I heard Salmān Fārsī say:]

I was sitting before God's Messenger during the illness through which he was taken, and Fāṭimah entered. Then, when she saw how weak her father was, she wept till her tears ran down her cheeks.

God's Messenger asked her: "What is making you cry?"

Fāṭimah answered: "I am afraid that after your death, my children and I will become deprived!"

So God's Messenger's eyes were bathed in tears; then he said: "O Fāṭimah, do you not know that God has chosen the Hereafter over this world for us, the Household!? And He has made death inevitable for all His creatures."

Then the Prophet spoke in detail about the creation of the Household, their ranks and levels, Fāṭimah's ranks and levels, and the characteristics exclusively conferred on her by God—including the eleven Imams, the last of them the Mahdī of this nation, being from her progeny.

The Prophet's Testamentary Instruction to Imam Ali to Be Patient and Tolerate the Torments of Quraysh

ثُمَّ أَقبَلَ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام فَقَالَ: يا أَخِي إِنَّكَ سَتَبقَى بَعدِي وَسَتَلقَى مِن قُرَيشٍ شِدَّةً مِن تَظَاهُرِهِم عَلَيكَ وَظُلمِهِم لَكَ، فَإِن وَجَدتَ أَعوَاناً فَجَاهِدهُم وَقَاتِلْ مَن خَالَفَكَ بِمَن وَافَقَكَ، وَإِن لَم تَجِد أَعوَاناً فَاصبِر وَكُفَّ يَدَكَ وَلَا تُلقِ بِهَا إِلَى التَّهلُكَةِ، فَإِنَّكَ مِنِّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى، وَلَكَ بِهَارُونَ أُسوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ إِذَا استَضعَفَهُ قَومُهُ وَكَادُوا يَقتُلُونَهُ، فَاصبِر لِظُلمِ قُرَيشٍ إِيَّاكَ وَتَظَاهُرِهِم عَلَيكَ فَإِنَّكَ بِمَنزِلَةِ هَارُونَ وَمَن تَبِعَهُ، وَهُم بِمَنزِلَةِ العِجلِ وَمَن تَبِعَهُ — حديث 173

Then he turned to Ali saying:

O my brother! You are going to outlive me! And before long, you will encounter difficulty from Quraysh, from their making common cause against you and wronging you.

> So, if you find helpers, rise against them and fight against whoever opposes you with whoever agrees with you! However, if you do not find any helpers, stay your hand and do not ruin yourself with [your own hand]! For you are to me as Aaron was to Moses, and Aaron is a good example for you, because his tribe thought him to be weak and nearly killed him.
>
> O Ali, forbear Quraysh's oppression of you, and their making common cause against you, because you are like Aaron and whoever followed him, and they are like the calf and whoever followed it...

And this context generates certainty that Ali's opponents, and those who hastened to Saqīfah Banī Saʿīdah, and who had forgotten the Prophet and his death, and preparing and shrouding him for burial, hastened to the Saqīfah in pursuit of power, and would commit any crime to get what they wanted, even if it led to many Muslims being killed, Islam and the Qurʾan being lost, and God's and His Messenger's name being erased!

Consequently, we see that they attack the House of Prophecy to demand a pledge of allegiance from Ali, and from his companions who had taken shelter at the door of Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ. They slapped Fāṭimah on the face, whipped her on the shoulder, and squashed her between the front door and the wall, breaking her rib, and causing her to give stillbirth to the baby in her womb, who fell to the ground. She died shortly afterwards as a result. It was all because she wanted to stop them from taking Ali to the mosque with them to make him pledge allegiance.

Ayatollah Kompānī's lament for Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ

What beautiful poetry the pride of philosophers, sages, and theosphers, the shaykh of contemporary jurisprudents and scholars, the Late Ḥājj Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Iṣfahānī, better known as Kompānī, has composed:

1 وَلِلسِّيَاطِ رَنَّةٌ صَدَاهَا فِي مَسْمَعِ الدَّهْرِ فَمَا أَشْجَاهَا

2 وَالأَثَرُ الْبَاقِي كَمِثْلِ الدُّمْلُجِ فِي عَضُدِ الزَّهْرَاءِ أَقْوَى الْحُجَجِ

3 وَمِن سَوَادِ مَتْنِهَا اسْوَدَّ الْقَضَا يَا سَاعَدَ اللهُ الإِمَامَ الْمُرْتَضَى

4 وَلَسْتُ أَدْرِي خَبَرَ الْمِسْمَارِ سَلْ صَدْرَهَا خَزَانَةَ الأَسْرَارِ

وَفِي جَنِينِ الْمَجْدِ مَا يُدْمِي الْحَشَا وَهَلْ لَهُمْ إِخْفَاءُ أَمْرٍ قَدْ فَشَا 5

وَالْبَابُ وَالْجِدَارُ وَالدِّمَاءُ شُهُودُ صِدْقٍ مَا بِهِ خَفَاءُ 6

لَقَدْ جَنَى الْجَانِي عَلَى جَنِينِهَا فَانْدَكَّتِ الْجِبَالُ مِنْ حَنِينِهَا 7

وَرَضَّ تِلْكَ الْأَضْلُعَ الزَّكِيَّةَ رَزِيَّةٌ مَا مِثْلُهَا رَزِيَّةٌ 8

وَمِنْ نُبُوعِ الدَّمْعِ مِنْ ثَدْيِيهَا يُعْرَفُ عِظَمُ مَا جَرَى عَلَيْهَا 9

وَجَاوَزَ الْحَدَّ بِلَطْمِ الْخَدِّ شَلَّتْ يَدُ الطُّغْيَانِ وَالتَّعَدِّي 10

فَحَمَرَّتِ الْعَيْنُ وَعَيْنُ الْمَعْرِفَةْ تُذْرِفُ بِالدَّمْعِ عَلَى تِلْكَ الصِّفَةْ 11

وَلَا يُزِيلُ حُمْرَةَ الْعَيْنِ سِوَى بِيضِ السُّيُوفِ يَوْمَ يُنْشَرُ اللِّوَا 12

فَإِنَّ كَسْرَ الضِّلْعِ لَيْسَ يُجْبَرُ إِلَّا بِصَمْصَامٍ عَزِيزٍ مُقْتَدِرْ 13

أَهَكَذَا يُصْنَعُ بِابْنَةِ النَّبِي حِرْصاً عَلَى الْمُلْكِ فَيَا لِلْعَجَبِ[174] 14

1. The whips had a lament the echo of which is audible throughout time; how heart-rending it is!
2. And the mark left like a bangle on Zahrā'"s upper arm was the strongest proof!
3. And from the bruising on her shoulder, space became black—may God help Imam Murtaḍā!
4. And I would not know the story of the nail; ask her heart (*ṣadrahā*) the repository of secrets.
5. And there is a gut-rending story concerning the foetus of glory, and can they hide something that has been revealed?
6. But the door, the wall, and the blood are witnesses of truth, and there is no doubt about it!
7. The perpetrator committed a crime against her foetus, and all mountains are crushed by their commiseration!
8. And he broke those pure ribs, a disaster the like of which there is no other.
9. And from the gushing of blood from her breasts the severity of what happened to her is understood!
10. And he crossed the line by slapping her cheek. May the hand of tyranny and transgression be paralyzed.
11. And her eye went red, and the eye of realization wells with tears at that description!
12. And nothing will clear that redness of her eyes except the whiteness of swords, on the day when the banner is unfurled.
13. Because nothing can set the broken rib, except the sword of a Mighty Powerful One.
14. Is such done to the daughter of the Prophet out of greed for power? How astonishing!

Ayatollah Kompānī's Lament in Persian for Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'

Ayatollah Iṣfahānī Kompānī also composed an excellent ode in Persian, lamenting her holiness the Truthful One (Ṣiddīqah)—it includes various facts; and here, together with the two first stanzas of the elegy, we present you the interpretation of it in English.

تا در بیت الحرام از آتش بیگانه سوخت کعبه ویران شد، حرم از سوز صاحبخانه سوخت
شمع بزم آفرینش با هزاران اشک و آه شد چنان، کز دود آهش سینه کاشانه سوخت
آتشی در بیت معمور ولایت شعله زد تا ابد زان شعله، هر معمور و هر ویرانه سوخت
آه از آن پیمان شکن کز کینه خمّ غدیر آتشی افروخت تا هم خمّ و هم پیمانه[175] سوخت
لیلی حسن قدم، چون سوخت از سر تا قدم همچو مجنون، عقل رهبر را دل دیوانه سوخت
گلشن فرّخ فر توحید، آن دم شد تباه کز سُموم شرک، آن شاخ گل فرزانه سوخت
گنج علم و معرفت شد طعمه أفعی صفت تا که از بیداد دونان گوهر یکدانه سوخت
حاصل باغ نبوّت، رفت بر باد فنا خرمنی در آرزوی خام آب و دانه سوخت
کز کَسِ دون، پنجه زد بر روی طاوس أزل عالمی از حسرت آن جلوه مستانه سوخت
آتشی آتش پرستی در جهان أفروخته خرمن إسلام و دین را تا قیامت سوخته
سینه ای کز معرفت گنجینه أسرار بود کی سزاوار فشار آن در و دیوار بود؟
طور سینای تجلّی، مَشعلی از نور شد سینه سینای وحدت، مشتعل از نار بود
ناله بانو زد أندر خرمن هستی شَرَر گوئی اندر طور غم، چون نخل آتشبار بود
آنکه کردی ماه تابان پیش او پهلو تهی از کجا پهلوی او را تاب آن آزار بود
گردش گردون دون بین، کز جفای سامری نقطه پرگار وحدت، مرکز مسمار بود
صورتش نیلی شد از سیلی، که چون سیل سیاه روی گیتی[176] زین مصیبت، تا قیامت تار بود
شهریاری شد به بند بندهای از بندگان آنکه جبریل امینش بندهٔ دربار بود
از قضای شاه، بانو بانوای جانگداز تا توانائی به تن تا قوّت رفتار بود
گرچه بازو خسته شد، وز کار دستش بسته شد لیک پای همتش بر گنبد دوّار بود
دست بانو گرچه از دامان شه کوتاه شد لیک بر گردون بلند از دست آن گمراه شد[177]

The door of God's Holy House [Fāṭimah's home] was burned by fire of the unrelated man, the Kaʿbah was destroyed, and the sacred precinct was burned when the Home Owner[s] (Ali and Fāṭimah) were.

The candle of the feast for the Creation [Fāṭimah] melted from weeping so profusely and moaning till the chest of the house burned from the smoke of its moans.

The tongues of fire blazed in the inhabited house of the Guardianship, in such a way that every crowded house was burned and destroyed evermore.

Ah! Alas of that covenant-breaker who started his fire based on a grudge over Ghadir Khumm, and burned the pitcher and measuring bowl!

When Laylā, sempiternally beautiful from head to toe, was burned [because of the broken covenants], her lover became like her Majnūn, who lost his calm, directed mind!

At that moment, the Rose-Garden of the Unity was ruined; by the poisonous wind of polytheism the sensitive flower was burned.

The treasure of wisdom and knowledge fell prey to the disguised viper, and the unique pearl was burned by the fire of oppression by the common people.

The yield of the Garden of Prophethood was lost; the threshing-floor was burned without achieving its purpose for lack of water and fertilizer.

The mean vulture gripped the delicate peacock, and the whole world was burned by the grief of that disturbing scene!

The Zoroastrian has kindled fire in the world and burned the threshing-floor of Islam and the religion up to the day of Resurrection.

A chest that was a treasure-trove for secrets, how could it be crushed between the door and wall?!

Mount Sinai of manifestation became a lamp of light. As for the heart of the Sinai of Unity (al-Zahrāʾ), it was set alight with fire.

The sorrow of the Lady and her ardor kindled the sparks on the threshing-floor of existence such that it is like the blazing palm tree on the mountain of sorrow.

She around whom the shining moon was shy and belittled itself around her, how can her rib stand that pain?

Look at the poetry collection (*dīvān*) of the lowly scholar and how the axis of Unity became the target for the nail through the action of the roughness of the Sāmirī.

Murūj al-Dhahab says:

ولمّا قُبضت فاطمة جزَع عليها بَعْلُها على جَزَعاً شديداً واشتدّ بكاؤهُ وظهر أنينُه وحَنينُه وقال في ذلك:

لِكُلِّ اجْتِماعٍ مِن خَلِيلَينِ فُرْقَة وَكُلُّ الَّذي دُونَ المَمَاتِ قَلِيلُ

وَإِنَّ افْتِقَادِي فَاطِماً بَعْدَ أَحْمَدٍ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى أَنْ لَا يَدُومُ خَلِيلٍ.[178]

When Fāṭimah was taken, her husband, Ali, was utterly distraught, he wept profusely, and his moaning and whimpering were audible. He said about that:

Between every pair of beloveds, there will eventually be a separation; and little there is before death.

Indeed, my losing Fāṭimah, after Aḥmad, is proof that a beloved does not live forever.[179]

Lessons One Hundred Forty-Two to One Hundred Forty-Eight

The Occasions on Which the Prophet Said the Status Hadith to Imam Ali

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED FORTY-TWO TO ONE HUNDRED FORTY-EIGHT

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

Blessing upon Muhammad and his infallible Household, and God's curse on his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! There is no power or strength except through Lofty, Glorious God.

Wise God says in His Glorious Book:

وَوَاعَدْنَا مُوسَى ثَلَاثِينَ لَيْلَةً وَأَتْمَمْنَاهَا بِعَشْرٍ فَتَمَّ مِيقَاتُ رَبِّهِ أَرْبَعِينَ لَيْلَةً وَقَالَ مُوسَى لِأَخِيهِ هَارُونَ اخْلُفْنِي فِي قَوْمِي وَأَصْلِحْ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ سَبِيلَ الْمُفْسِدِينَ.

And We appointed with Moses a time of thirty nights and completed them with ten (more), so the appointed time of his Lord was complete forty nights, and Moses said to his brother Aaron: Take my place among my people, and keep the peace and do not follow the way of the mischief-makers (7:142).

Moses Appoints His Brother Aaron as Successor to the Imamate

The exegesis *Majmaʿ al-Bayān* says that *do not follow the way of the mischief-makers* means do not follow the path of the mischief-makers and do not assist the wrongdoers! [Moses] actually wanted to reform his people, but addressed his brother.[180]

However, in *al-Mīzān*, ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī says:

> As Aaron was an infallible envoy prophet, and would never follow the mischief-makers, and Moses knew his brother best, the meaning of what he said was not to tell him not to fall into disbelief or commit sins, but rather that in the management of his people's affairs, he should not follow anything suggestive of [following the mischief-makers] or anything that the mischief-makers among his people would consider to be correct while Moses was away on a mission.
>
> Proof that this is what is meant is the phrase *and keep the peace* (*wa aṣlih*) because it proves that *and do not follow the way of the mischief-makers* means to reform their affair and not to take a course among them that is the way of the mischief-makers, which they would consider to be correct and which they would point out to him.
>
> So it is well understood that at that time, there were some corrupt ones among Moses's people, who caused trouble, created havoc, and wished him a sudden death! Therefore, Moses prohibits his brother from following their course, lest they spread disinformative propaganda,

scheme, and deceive thereby, and division and disunity spread among the Israelites, after all the trials and problems Moses had suffered trying to bring them together.[181]

Then, *Majmaʿ al-Bayān* says:

Only Moses could appoint his brother, Aaron, as his deputy and representative among his people, even though Aaron was also an envoy prophet, because the leadership of his nation was Moses's; Aaron could not have said the same to Moses. This is proof that the status of Imam is separate from and not part of prophethood.

Only certain prophets had both mandates—if Aaron already was in charge of the nation as a prophet, he would not have needed Moses to appoint him and install him in his place.[182]

And we find this exact same appointment of the Master of the Faithful Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as deputy and representative by God's Messenger in the Status Hadith, because the Prophet said:

أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي.

"You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me," meaning that Imam Ali's rank and position in relation to the Prophet's was as Aaron's was to Moses. And this means that all Imam Ali's ranks and positions were the same as Aaron's, including executor, aide, successor, and partner in the matter of the mission, and assumption of the important task and of the responsibility for protecting the religion. The only exception was that Imam Ali was not and would not become a prophet. If prophethood had not come to an end with God's Messenger, for sure Imam Ali would have deserved it, but as the Prophet was the Seal of the Prophets, Imam Ali did not assume such a position.

I, the humble servant, have performed an extensive search for all utterances of the Status Hadith:

أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي

and discovered that the Prophet said it on fourteen unrelated occasions, and on each of them he tried to make people understand that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib had complete authority as his successor and the Imam after his [the Prophet's] death. He also wanted to make clear that even while he was still alive, the Imam was his aide in all matters.

The first occasion[183] on which the Prophet said it was when he was setting out for the Battle of Tabūk. He appointed Imam Ali as

deputy (*khalīfah*) in his place; he was left in charge of Medina to look after the affairs of the people in the Prophet's absence.

Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ's Objection to Muʿāwiyah at Dar al-Nadwah and the Status Hadith

Various companions of the Prophet have narrated this hadith, including Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ when Muʿāwiyah asked him: "Why do you not vilify Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib?" [Saʿd] replied by saying: "I have heard, from God's Messenger, many things concerning Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, so I will never vilify him."

Both Shiʿa and Sunni scholars narrate this hadith in historical and biographical books; we do not find a single book about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's life and times, or any biography of Saʿd, the author of which does not refer to this exchange between Muʿāwiyah and Saʿd, and the Status Hadith about the Master of the Faithful.

The great historian and reliable narrator Masʿūdī narrates from Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, from Muhammad Ibn Ḥamīd Rāzī, from Abū Mujāhid, from Muhammad Ibn Isḥāq, from Abū Najīḥ, [who] said:

> When Muʿāwiyah went on *ḥajj*, he circumambulated the House. Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was with him. Then, when they finished, Muʿāwiyah went away to Dār al-Nadwah.[184] Thereafter, he seated [Saʿd] on his sofa with him and Muʿāwiyah disparaged Ali, and started vilifying him! So Saʿd edged forward, and then said:
>
> > Have you sat me next to you on your sofa, and then started cursing Ali?! I swear by God that if I had just one of Ali's attributes, it would be better for me than if I had everything over which the sun rises!
> >
> > By God, if I were God's Messenger's son-in-law, and I had children like Ali's, it would be better for me than if I had everything over which the sun rises!
> >
> > By God, if God's Messenger had said about me what he said at the Battle of Khaybar, it would be better for me than if I had everything over which the sun rises:
>
> لَأُعْطِيَنَّ الرَّايَةَ غَدًا رَجُلًا يُحِبُّهُ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ، وَيُحِبُّ اللهَ وَرَسُولَهُ، لَيْسَ بِفَرَّارٍ يَفْتَحُ اللهُ عَلَى يَدَيْهِ
>
> Tomorrow, I will most certainly give the banner to a man whom God and His Messenger love, and who loves God and His Messenger. He is not one to flee. God will bring victory at his hands.

By God, if God's Messenger had said to me what he said pertaining to the Battle of Tabūk it would be better for me than if I had everything over which the sun rises:

أما ترضى أن تكون مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى إلا أنه لا نبي بعدي.

"Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?"

Saʿd said these words, and stood up. Muʿāwiyah said: "By God's Right Hand, I will pour in for you a copious amount as long as you stay!"[185]

After relating this hadith, Masʿūdi says:

I have come across another version of the narrations—in Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulaymān Nawfilī's book on hadiths—that Ibn Ayishe and others [narrated] that when Saʿd said these words to Muʿāwiyah, and stood up to leave, Muʿāwiyah blew him a raspberry[186] and told him: "Sit down to listen to the response to what you have said! You have not been as mean to me as you have been now! So, why did you not assist Ali? And why did you not pledge allegiance to him? If I had heard the like of what you heard from the Prophet concerning Ali, I would be Ali's servant as long as I live!"

Saʿd said: "By God, I am most certainly worthier of your position than you!"

Muʿāwiyah replied: "Banū ʿUdhrah deny you that!"

It is said that Saʿd belonged to Banū ʿUdhrah.

Masʿūdī's Hadith, and Ḥimyarī's Elegy on the Virtues of Imam Ali

Nawfilī says that Ḥimyarī composed an ode about it:

1 سَائِلْ قُرَيْشاً بِهَا إِنْ كُنْتَ ذَا عَمَهٍ مَنْ كَانَ أَثْبَتَهَا فِي الدِّينِ أَوْتَادَا

2 مَنْ كَانَ أَقْدَمَهَا سِلْمًا وَأَكْثَرَهَا عِلْمًا وَأَطْهَرَهَا أَهْلًا وَأَوْلَادَا

3 مَنْ وَحَّدَ اللهَ إِذْ كَانَتْ مُكَذِّبَةً تَدْعُو مَعَ اللهِ أَوْثَانًا وَأَنْدَاداً

4 مَنْ كَانَ يُقْدِمُ فِي الْهَيْجَاءِ إِنْ نَكَلُوا عَنْهَا وَإِنْ بَخِلُوا فِي أَزْمَةٍ جَادَا

5 مَنْ كَانَ أَعْدَلَهَا حُكْماً وَأَقْسَطَهَا حِلْمًا وَأَصْدَقَهَا وَعْداً وَإِيعَادَا

6 إِنْ يَصْدُقُوكَ فَلَمْ يَعْدُوا أَبَا حَسَنٍ إِنْ أَنْتَ لَمْ تَلْقَ لِلْأَبْرَارِ حُسَّادَا

إِنْ أَنْتَ لَمْ تَلْقَ مِنْ تَيْمٍ أَخَا صَلَفٍ وَمِنْ عَدِيٍّ لِحَقِّ اللهِ جُحَّادَا 7

أَوْ مِنْ بَنِي عَامِرٍ أَوْ مِنْ بَنِي أَسَدٍ رَهْطِ الصَّيِدِ ذَوِي جَهْلٍ وَأَوْغَادَا 8

أَوْ رَهْطِ سَعْدٍ؛ وَسَعْدٌ كَانَ قَدْ عَلِمُوا عَنْ مُسْتَقِيمِ صِرَاطِ اللهِ صَدَّادَا 9

قَوْمٌ تَدَاعَوْا زَنِيمًا ثُمَّ سَادَهُمُ لَوْلَا خُمُولُ بَنِي زُهْرٍ لَمَا سَادَا.[187] 10

1. Ask Quraysh if you know not who is pegged firmer in the religion
2. Who has been Muslim longest, is most knowledgeable, and whose family and children are purest
3. Who believed God is One, when [all the tribes] rejected [God's Unity]; calling idols and partners alongside God!
4. Who advanced on the battlefield, when everyone else withdrew from it and was generous when everyone else was miserly during a crisis
5. Who ruled the fairest among the people, and was most equitably tolerant, and was the most truthful in his promises and his threats
6. If they tell you the truth, they would not have abandoned you, Abū al-Hasan, if you did not find people envious of the good
7. If you do not find among Taym a brother of vainglory and among ʿAdī those who reject God's truth
8. Or among Banī ʿĀmir and Banī Asad, the group of slaves, ignorant people, and scoundrels!
9. Or the tribe of Saʿd, for Saʿd was known to turn people away from God's path!
10. A tribe who rallied around a bastard; then he ruled them; were it were not for Banī Zuhr's obscurity, he would not have become ruler.

In this ode, Sayyid Ḥimyarī praises Imam Ali and sarcastically criticizes and reproaches those who refrained from pledging allegiance to him and assisting him.[188]

Those Who Did Not Pledge Allegiance to Imam Ali: Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ Was One of Those Who Did Not Pledge Allegiance to Imam Ali

One of those who, after the demise of Othman, did not pledge allegiance to the Imam during his public Caliphate was Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. All history books and biographies say that he did not pledge allegiance to Imam Ali.

Safinat al-Biḥār, under art. *r-b-ʿ*, says in a biographical entry on Rabīʿ Ibn Khuthaym, quoting Majlisī's pupil, may God be pleased with him, the great Āqā Mīrzā Iṣfahānī Efendi, who narrates in the book *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamāʾ*:

It was seven of God's Messenger's companions who failed to pledge allegiance to Imam Ali: ʿAbdullāh Ibn Omar, Omar's servant Ṣuhayb al-Rūmī, Muhammad Ibn Maslamah, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd Ibn Mālik, Usāmah Ibn Zayd, and Salamah Ibn Salāmah. Three successors (*tābiʿīn*) also [failed to pledge allegiance]: Rabīʿ Ibn Khuthaym, Masrūq Ibn Ajdaʿ, and Aswad Ibn Zayd.[189]

And it is narrated in *Murūj al-Dhahab*:

A group of Othman's followers refused to pledge allegiance to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and saw no recourse but to rebel. They included Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and ʿAbdullāh Ibn Omar, who later pledged allegiance to Yazīd [Ibn Muʿāwiyah], and then pledged allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Marwān. [Those who refused to pledge allegiance to Imam Ali] also included Qudāmah Ibn Maẓʿūn, Ahyān Ibn Ṣayfī, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Salām, and Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah Thaqafī. Some of the helpers (Anṣār) who withdrew were Kaʿb Ibn Mālik and Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, who were both poets, Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, Banī ʿAbd al-Ashhal's confederate Muhammad Ibn Maslamah, [Yazīd Ibn Thābit, Rāfiʿ Ibn Khudayj, and Nuʿmān Ibn Bashīr,][190] Faḍālah Ibn ʿUbayd, Kaʿb Ibn ʿUjrah, and Maslamah Ibn Khālid, among other pro-Othman supporters (Anṣār) whom we have not mentioned, as well as some others—Umayyads and non-[Umayyads].[191]

Ibn Athīr indicates in *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh* (Beirut: 1385 AH), vol. 3, p. 191, that when Othman was killed, [almost] all the Migrants and Supporters pledged allegiance to Imam Ali, but out of the Migrants, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and Ibn Omar, and out of the Supporters, Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, Kaʿb Ibn Mālik, Maslamah Ibn Mukhallad, Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, Muhammad Ibn Maslamah, Nuʿman Ibn Bashīr, Zayd Ibn Thābit, Rāfiʿ Ibn Khudayj, Fuḍālah Ibn ʿUbayd, and Kaʿb Ibn ʿUjrah failed to pledge allegiance to him, as well as ʿAbdullāh Ibn Salām, Ṣuhayb Ibn Sinān, Salamah Ibn Salāmah Ibn Waqsh, Usāmah Ibn Zayd, Qudāmah Ibn Maẓʿūn, and Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah.

However, Ibn Saʿd says in *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3, p. 31 that the day after Othman was killed, almost all the people in Medina pledged allegiance to Imam Ali, including Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd Ibn Zayd Ibn ʿAmr Ibn Nufayl, ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir, Usāmah Ibn Zayd, Sahl Ibn Ḥunayf, Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, Muhammad Ibn Maslamah, Zayd Ibn Thābit, Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit; everyone else in Medina pledged allegiance.

He then says that Ṭalḥah and Zubayr pledged allegiance loathly, not willingly; they went out to Mecca, where Ayishe was. They then set off for Basra, with Ayishe, to seek vengeance for Othman.

In any case, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was one of the first to embrace Islam, and was the seventh to become a Muslim;[192] he was a veteran of the Battles of Badr, Uḥud, and Khandaq, and all the battles for God's Messenger. At the Battle of Uḥud, he was sorely tested; he was the first to spill blood on God's path, and the first to fire an arrow on God's path.

The Sunnis say he was one of the chief companions and was one of the ten guaranteed Heaven by the Prophet, and one of the six council members who informed Omar that God's Messenger had passed away. [Sunnis] approve them.[193]

However, in spite of all that, his desire was to become "caliph" on the day when the council was convened. Then, in spite of Imam Ali's arguments for and reasoning behind his own entitlement, and his having been appointed Master, Imam, and Caliph, he sided with his own relative, Othman, and voted for him; after the death of Othman, he did not pledge allegiance to Imam Ali, withdrew, and did not help him at the Battles of the Camel, Ṣiffīn or Nahrawān!

Masʿūdī says:

> Saʿd, Usāmah Ibn Zayd, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Omar, and Muhammad Ibn Maslamah were among those who failed to pledge allegiance to Imam Ali, and, along with others who we said refused to pledge allegiance, refused to assist him. That is because they said: "Surely it is sedition!"
>
> And some of them said to Ali:
>
> اعْطِنا سُيُوفًا نُقَاتِلُ بِهَا مَعَكَ، فَإِذَا ضَرَبْنَا بِهَا الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَمْ تَعْمَلْ فِيهِمْ، وَنَبَتْ عَنْ أَجْسَادِهِمْ، وَإِذَا ضَرَبْنَا بِهَا الْكَافِرِينَ سَرَتْ فِي أَبْدَانِهِمْ، فَأَعْرَضَ عَنْهُمْ عَلِيٌّ وَقَالَ: وَلَوْ عَلِمَ اللهُ فِيهِمْ خَيْرًا لَأَسْمَعَهُمْ، وَلَوْ أَسْمَعَهُمْ لَتَوَلَّوْا وَهُمْ مُعْرِضُونَ.[194]
>
> "Give us swords to fight alongside you. Then when we strike the believers with them, they will not work on them and will bounce off their bodies, and when we strike the unbelievers with them, they will penetrate into their bodies!"
>
> So [Imam] Ali turned away from them and said: *Had God known of any good in them He would have made them hear, but had He made them hear they would have turned away, averse* (8:23).

It was Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ who said this to Imam Ali; he meant by this that the Muslims and believers had mingled. Both the Imam's army and the opposing army were all Muslims. He could not fight for the Imam killing his enemies! [Saʿd] claimed he would fight against unbelievers, not Muslims, like Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Ayishe, and Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān's cohorts. They were all Muslims, and it is not right to kill Muslims!

Senior historians say that it was Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ who uttered these words; for example, Ibn Saʿd, in *al-Ṭabaqāt*, narrates via his chain from Ayyūb Ibn Muhammad that he said:

> I have been informed that Saʿd would constantly say:
>
> > I do not claim that I have a greater right to this shirt of mine than I do to the Caliphate; I have been struggling since I knew the meaning of struggle (*jāhadtu idh ana aʿrafu al-jihād*)!
>
> وَلَا أَجْمَعُ نَفْسِي إِنْ كَانَ رَجُلٌ خَيْرًا مِنِّي، لَا أُقَاتِلُ حَتَّى تَأْتُونِي بِسَيْفٍ لَهُ عَيْنَانِ وَلِسَانٌ وَشَفَتَانِ فَيَقُولُ: هَذَا مُؤْمِنٌ وَهَذَا كَافِرٌ.[195] و
>
> > I will not fight and I will not kill myself if there is a better man than I; I will not fight until you bring me a sword with two eyes, a tongue, and two lips to say: this is a believer, and that is an unbeliever!

Ibn Saʿd also relates via his chain from Yaḥyā Ibn Husayn that he said: "I heard the neighborhood relate that my father asked Saʿd: 'What is stopping you from fighting?' Saʿd said: 'Until you bring me a sword that knows a believer from an unbeliever!'"[196]

Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr says:

> Saʿd's son, Omar Ibn Saʿd, after Othman was killed, encouraged Saʿd to promote himself [as Caliph], but [Saʿd] refused. His nephew, Hāshim Ibn ʿUtbah, also encouraged him, but when Saʿd refused, Hāshim went to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.
>
> During the insurrection [the Egyptian revolt in which Othman was killed], Saʿd remained in his house, and instructed his family not to tell him any news of the people until the nation had unanimously agreed upon an Imam.
>
> Muʿāwiyah had designs on him, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Omar, and Muhammad Ibn Maslamah; so he wrote to them calling upon them to help him avenge Othman, telling them that whoever killed and abandoned him was the same! [As they had not helped Othman in his life, their sentence

is the same as those who assassinated him—atonement for their crime could only be achieved by their rising up to help him against Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.]

Muʿāwiyah wrote to them in poetry and rhyme, but I avoid mentioning them here. Each one of those three men wrote him a separate letter, and they refuted his claims.

Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ's Sharp Odes to Muʿāwiyah

They each let him know that he was not worthy of what he claimed; in answer to his letter, Saʿd said:

مُعَاوِيَ دَاؤُكَ الدَّاءُ الَّذِيَاءُ وَلَيْسَ لِمَا تَجِيءُ بِهِ دَوَاءُ 1

أَيَدْعُونِي أَبُو حَسَنٍ عَلِيٌّ فَلَمْ أَرْدُدْ عَلَيْهِ مَا يَشَاءُ 2

وَقُلْتُ لَهُ: أَعْطِنِي سَيْفاً بَصِيراً تَمِيزُ بِهِ الْعَدَاوَةَ وَالْوَلَاءُ 3

فَإِنَّ الشَّرَّ أَصْغَرَهُ كَبِيرٌ وَإِنَّ الظَّهْرَ تُثْقِلُهُ الدِّمَاءُ 4

أَتَطْمَعُ فِي الَّذِي أَعْيَا عَلِيّاً عَلَى مَا قَدْ طَمِعْتَ بِهِ الْعَفَاءُ 5

لَيَوْمٌ مِنْهُ خَيْرٌ مِنْكَ حَيّاً وَمَيْتاً أَنْتَ لِلْمَرْءِ الْفِدَاءُ 6

فَأَمَّا أَمْرُ عُثْمَانَ فَدَعْهُ فَإِنَّ الرَّأْيَ أَذْهَبَهُ الْبَلَاءُ.[197] 7

1. O Muʿāwiyah, your illness is so serious that there is no remedy to it; there is no drug for what you bring!
2. If Abū al-Hasan, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, called me, and I did not give him the answer he wanted,
3. And I said to him: "Give me a sword that can see, with which enmity can be distinguished from love;
4. Because the smallest evil is severe, and the back is weighed down by [unlawful] blood[shed]."
5. Are you desirous for what ails Ali? What you covet is done for!
6. For sure one of [Ali's] days is worthier than yours—either in your death or in your lifetime.
7. As for the matter of Othman, forget it because tribulation has done away with [sound] opinion.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr also says:

قَالَ ابو عمر: سُئِلَ عَلِيٌّ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ قَعَدُوا عَنْ بَيْعَتِهِ وَنُصْرَتِهِ وَالْقِيَامِ مَعَهُ فَقَالَ: اولَئِكَ قَوْمٌ خَذَلُوا الْحَقَّ وَلَمْ يَنْصُرُوا الْبَاطِلَ.[198]

"Abū Omar said: 'When Ali was asked about those who refrained from pledging allegiance to him, assisting him, and standing with him, he stated: "Those are people who forsook that which is right, but did not assist that which is wrong!"'"

Furthermore, Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr says:

> On the day of Othman's assassination, allegiance was pledged to Ali, and all the Migrants and Supporters unanimously agreed to pledge allegiance to him; only a few of them refrained from pledging allegiance to him.
>
> But Ali did not rouse them, or put them under duress; and [when] he was asked about them, he answered:
>
> اولَئِكَ قَوْمٌ قَعَدُوا عَنِ الْحَقِّ وَلَمْ يَقُومُوا مَعَ الْبَاطِلِ.[199]
>
> "They are a group that refrained from that which is right, but they did not stand with that which is wrong!"

Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ's Excuse for Not Pledging Allegiance to Imam Ali

Māmqānī says that Kashshī says:

> I found in the book of Abī ʿAbdillāh Shādhānī that he would say:
>
> > Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad Madāʾnī narrated to me from Mūsā Ibn Qāsim ʿIjlī, from Ṣafwān, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, from Abū ʿAbdillāh Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, from his forefathers [who] said:
> >
> > كَتَبَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام إِلَى وَالِي الْمَدِينَةِ: لَا تُعْطِيَنَّ سَعْداً وَلَا ابْنَ عُمَرَ مِنَ الْفَيْءِ شَيْئاً فَأَمَّا اسَامَةَ بْنُ زَيْدٍ فَإِنِّي قَدْ عَذَرْتُهُ فِي الْيَمِينِ الَّتِي كَانَتْ عَلَيْهِ[200]
> >
> > "Ali wrote to the governor of the Medina: 'Do not give any spoils of war to Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ or Ibn Omar! As for Usāmah Ibn Zayd, I have forgiven him for the sake of [Zayd's] previous owner (*al-yamīn allatī kānat ʿalayh*).'"

In any case, this was Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ's position, which led him to non-alignment (*iʿtizāl*)[201] in spite of his bright precedents in [the history of] Islam. He was afflicted with conceit and self-delusion as a result of people's elevating him above his status because of their misinterpretation of what the Prophet had said:[202] "O God, make his aim accurate [shooting arrows at the enemy] and answer his prayer!"

He now found himself making excuses, though he conceded Imam Ali's leadership [without pledging allegiance]. He went from being reckless and courageous to being cowardly, and reassured himself with a false belief—that believers cannot fight amongst themselves—and by saying that he did not have a sword that could distinguish friend from enemy.

Obedience to Imam Ali was even incumbent pursuant to most of the Muslims' pledge of allegiance to him, not to mention the explicit prophetic instruction indicative of the Imam's being the divinely appointed true successor, Master, and commander, making his orders the same as God's and His Messenger's, meaning that it was compulsory to obey his orders and rulings in wartime and peace time, in the light of God's words:

يا ايها الذين آمنوا اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم

O you who believe, obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you (4:59).

Thus, pursuant to the Glorious Qur'an, Imam Ali also had a duty to punish any rebel transgressor of a Muslim who did not pledge allegiance to him, did not accept his Guardianship, and intended shedding the blood of others and corruption on earth—even if he was Muslim, or even if there were thousands of them!

What! Had Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ not read this verse in the Qur'an and realized that Ali's sword was the sword of truth, which distinguishes right from wrong, and believer from unbeliever! As the Qur'an states:

وَإِن طَائِفَتَانِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا فَإِن بَغَتْ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الْأُخْرَىٰ فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّىٰ تَفِيءَ إِلَىٰ أَمْرِ اللَّهِ فَإِن فَاءَتْ فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا بِالْعَدْلِ وَأَقْسِطُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ

And if two parties of the believers fight, make peace between them; but if one of them acts wrongfully towards the other, fight that which acts wrongfully until it returns to God's command; then if it returns, make peace between them with justice and act equitably. Lo! God loves the equitable (49:9).

On the basis of on this verse, Imam Ali was entitled to fight with the people who rebelled against him and did not surrender to the truth and follow him, [rebels] like Mu'āwiyah and the enemy combatants at the Battles of the Camel and Nahrawān, even after he had delivered sermons, written a great many letters to them, and furnished them with full evidence (*itmām al-ḥujjaj*)!

He [was entitled] to stand up to corruption, rescue the central government from their trying to divide it, crush the transgressors and

their followers, and safeguard the unified government for the Islamic nation throughout the Islamic homeland, as it was within the Prophet's lifetime.

Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ is pronounced guilty, with regard to his protest, by the judgment of this verse. He had no right to accuse Imam Ali of arbitrary killing without any regard to the enemy combatants' being believers or unbelievers! According to this verse of the Qur'an, even a Muslim aggressor who does not surrender to that which is right must be slain.

A man's value is by virtue of his surrendering to and following that which is right, not cosmetic Islam!

An unbeliever who is ready to follow that which is right has priority over a Muslim who is not ready to do so. Islam means surrender to that which is right and avoidance of that which is wrong.

Sa'd was one of the earliest Muslims, a Migrant, and out of all the Prophet's scribes, it was he who scribed the Prophet's letter to the Jews of Khaybar.[203] He was older than Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib,[204] and Omar made him a member of the Council; he should not have become self-deluded and said: "I am such-and-such," and then failed to join Ali's army. This was not caution. On the contrary, it was self-delusion disguised as neutrality! It was Satanic insinuation masquerading as piety, affectation of righteousness, and spending the night in the mosque!

That was Sa'd who knew Ali well, was well aware of his precedents, and narrated some hadiths praising him and speaking of his merit; so Sa'd had no right to stand against Ali.

Imam Ali's Reference to Imam Husayn's Martyrdom, in Response to Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ's Letter

Majlisī, may God be pleased with him, narrates from *al-Amālī* by Ṣadūq, via his chain from Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātah, [who] said:

بَيْنَا أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عليه السلام يَخْطُبُ النَّاسَ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: سَلُونِي قَبْلَ أَنْ تَفْقِدُونِي، فَوَاللهِ لَا تَسْأَلُونِي
عَنْ شَيْءٍ مَضَى وَلَا عَنْ شَيْءٍ يَكُونُ إِلَّا نَبَّأْتُكُمْ بِهِ
فَقَامَ إِلَيْهِ سَعْدُ بْنُ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَخْبِرْنِي كَمْ فِي رَأْسِي وَلِحْيَتِي مِنْ شَعْرَةٍ؟!

فَقَالَ لَهُ: أَمَا وَاللهِ لَقَدْ سَأَلْتَنِي عَنْ مَسْئَلَةٍ حَدَّثَنِي خَلِيلِي رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ: انَّكَ سَتَسْأَلُنِي عَنْهَا، وَمَا فِي رَأْسِكَ وَلِحْيَتِكَ مِنْ شَعْرَةٍ إِلَّا وَفِي أَصْلِهَا شَيْطَانٌ جَالِسٌ، فَإِنَّ فِي بَيْتِكَ لَسَخْلًا[205] يَقْتُلُ الْحُسَيْنَ ابْنِي، وَعُمَرُ بْنُ سَعْدٍ يَوْمَئِذٍ يَدْرُجُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ.[206]

When the Master of the Faithful was delivering a sermon, he said: "Ask me whatever seems proper to you before you lose me! For by God, you will not ask me about anything past, or anything that will be, without my telling you about it!"

Thereafter, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ stood up before him and said: "O Master of the Faithful, tell me how many hairs there are on my head and [in] my beard?"

[His Holiness] said to him: "By God, you have asked me a question that my friend, God's Messenger, told me you would! But there is not a single hair on your head, or in you beard, at the root of which there is not a devil sitting! For there is in your house an infant beloved to you who will slay Husayn, my scion!" At that time, Omar Ibn Saʿd was just learning to take his first steps before [his father].

Yes indeed, Saʿd avoids pledging allegiance to Imam Ali, helping him, and taking refuge under his banner. He instead falls prey to Muʿāwiyah. And Omar's ritualistic, obstinate, narrow-minded son, ʿAbdullāh, also refrains from pledging allegiance to Imam Ali but later does pledge allegiance to Yazīd Ibn Muʿāwiyah, and then to ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Marwān.

A timely verse in Persian says:

هر که گریزد ز خراجات شاه بارکش غول بیابان شود.

Whoever escapes paying the revenue to the king
Will be made a porter to the ghouls of the desert!

The verse refers to the fact that later on, when Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān came to power, he expected Saʿd to curse Ali, or be taken to task!

But how could Saʿd curse Ali, what with his own precedents and his knowledge of the precedents of his contemporary, the holder of the Guardianship, and possessor of full knowledge, the Qurʾan, understanding, and judgment, the Master of the Faithful, who had unparalleled precedents? On the other hand, Saʿd knew Muʿāwiyah's polytheistic precedents and those of his father, Abū Sufyān, the chief

of corruption and mobilizer of armies against Islam, and the source of treachery and criminality, the *ʿifrīt* of hypocrisy and two-facedness, who had only grudgingly, and under duress of circumstances, accepted Islam during the recapture of Mecca in 8 AH?!

That is why Saʿd lived in his palace in al-ʿAqīq, ten miles away from Medina, watching what was going on. Muʿāwiyah was harsh towards him, but he did not answer the scheming, treacherous Muʿāwiyah. He saw the revolution and disarray, after the oppressed Master of the Faithful Ali was martyred, without leaving any property behind;[207] his oppressedness became clear, and his cries and sermons were left unanswered!

When Muʿāwiyah saw that because of Saʿd's popularity and status among the people, he could not persuade them to pledge allegiance to his son Yazīd, he poisoned him along with God's Messenger's grandson, Hasan Mujtabā.

Abū al-Faraj Iṣfahānī narrates via his chain that when Muʿāwiyah wanted allegiance to be pledged to his son Yazīd, he secretly added poison to some food and fed it to Imam Hasan and Saʿd. They then both died from it and there were [just] days between their deaths.[208]

And he narrates via another chain of his: "When Imam Hasan finished his sermon, he returned to Medina and settled there. Muʿāwiyah wanted allegiance to be pledged to his son Yazīd. There was no greater impediment than the matter of Hasan Ibn Ali and Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, so he slipped them poison and they died from it.[209]

Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, during the Last Days of His Life, Declared the Virtues of Imam Ali

During the last days of his life, Saʿd would narrate the virtues of Imam Ali and speak of the prerogatives conferred on him alone that [Saʿd] had heard from God's Messenger. But to what avail was that, the sword having already preceded the censure, because Ali's head had already been split open in the prayer niche, and Muʿāwiyah already had his bloody claws in the furthest parts of the lands. Mecca was desecrated through killing and looting by Busr Ibn Arṭāt, and that monster killed ʿUbaydullāh Ibn ʿAbbās's two little children. Cursing and vilifying Ali on the pulpits was considered to be compulsory, in Friday prayer and Eid sermons throughout the Islamic world. Thus now what was the use of Saʿd's mentioning Ali's virtues to his sons and daughter,[210] or to two Iraqi men?![211]

When Muʿāwiyah was not in power, you forsook Ali and failed to assist him! You let him face so many opponents, enemies, and pursuers of worldly gain!

Now that everything is over, and his army has been dispersed, and his companions have abandoned him, and above all, after leaving him too without any help or assistance, they have obliged his executor, Hasan Mujtabā, to pledge allegiance to the tyrant of his time. You just sit in your palace in ʿAqīq and count [Imam Ali's] virtues; what use is that?!

Sit there, and keep worshiping, but what kind of worship is it?!

May God have mercy on the late Āyatollāh Ḥajj Sayyid Mahmūd Shāhrūdī, who was one of my old teachers in Holy Najaf. Once, in the middle of the lesson, he said on the pulpit: "Three groups become dry ritualists: 1) lazy students, 2) bankrupt businessmen, and 3) deposed rulers!"

At the end of his life, Omar's son, ʿAbdullāh, would also sigh and express regret for not assisting Imam Ali and not fighting the renegade faction (Muʿāwiyah and his companions).

Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr says:

> It is narrated via different routes from Ḥabīb Ibn Abī Thābit, that Ibn Omar said:
>
> إِنَّهُ قَالَ: مَا آسَى عَلَى شَيْءٍ إِلَّا أَنِّي لَمْ أُقَاتِلْ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ الْفِئَةَ الْبَاغِيَةَ.[212]
>
> "I do not regret anything, except not fighting alongside Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib against the renegade faction!"

Dāraquṭnī also relates in *al-Muʾtalaf wa al-Mukhtalaf*, via his chain, that Ibn Omar said:

مَا آسَى عَلَى شَيْءٍ إِلَّا عَلَى أَلَّا أَكُونَ قَاتَلْتُ الْفِئَةَ الْبَاغِيَةَ عَلَى صَوْمِ الْهَوَاجِرِ.

"He said: 'I do not regret anything, except not having fought the renegade faction instead of supererogatory fasting on the hottest summer days!"

[Dāraquṭnī] also narrates via another chain:

ما أجد نفسي آسى على شيء فاتني من الدنيا إلا أني لم أقاتل الفئة الباغية مع علي.[213]

"I do not find myself sorrier for missing out on anything than not fighting alongside Ali against the renegade faction!"

And via another chain, he has narrated from him that at the time of his death he said:

مَا أَجِدُ فِي نَفْسِي مِنْ أَمْرِ الدُّنْيَا شَيْئاً، إِلَّا أَنِّي لَمْ أُقَاتِلِ الْفِئَةَ الْبَاغِيَةَ مَعَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ.

"I do not find in myself anything of the affair of this world, except that I did not fight alongside Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib against the renegade faction."

He narrates via another chain:

مَا آسَى عَلَى شَيْءٍ إِلَّا تَرْكِي قِتَالَ الْفِئَةِ الْبَاغِيَةِ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ.

"I do not feel sorrier for anything than my not fighting alongside Ali against the renegade faction."

These hadiths mean that he did not feel sorrier for or regret missing out on anything in this world other than fighting alongside Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib against the renegade faction! However, this same man sat under Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf Thaqafī's pulpit to listen to his sermons and pledged allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, only to be killed by Ḥajjāj's hand.[214]

Saʿd's Meeting with Muʿāwiyah, and His Explanation of the Status Hadith

Shaykh Ṭūsī tells the story of Muʿāwiyah's meeting with Saʿd in Medina. He narrates in his *Amālī*, via his chain from ʿIkrimah, a companion of Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that when Muʿāwiyah decided to go on *ḥajj*, he [first] stayed over in Medina, and permission was sought for Saʿd to come and see him.

> He then told those who were sitting with him: "When I allow Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ in and he sits down, start cursing Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib."
>
> Permission was granted to him [and Saʿd] entered, and sat on a sofa next to Muʿāwiyah. Right then, the audience began cursing the Master of the Faithful, and tears poured down from Saʿd's eyes. Muʿāwiyah asked: "O Saʿd, what is making you cry? Do you cry if the murderer of your brother, Othman Ibn ʿAffān, is vilified?!"
>
> [Saʿd] said:
>
> > By God, I can't help crying; we left Mecca in flight, and reached this mosque, i.e. God's Messenger's Mosque. It was where we slept [at night], and rested [during the day] when we were evicted from it, but Ali was allowed to stay there; that was then difficult for us, but we were afraid to say so to God's Prophet. Therefore, we went to Ayishe and said: "O mother of the believers! We are companions, like Ali, and we migrated, like Ali! However, we have been evicted from the Mosque, but Ali has been allowed to stay there; now, it is not known whether this is God's dissatisfaction or His Messenger's anger! [Please,] mention it to God's Messenger!"

[Ayishe said]: "I mentioned it to God's Messenger and [the Prophet] answered: 'O Ayishe! No, by God, it was not I who evicted them, or allowed [Ali] to stay [there], but rather it was God Who evicted them and let [Ali] remain [there].'"[215]

We raided Khaybar, and whoever fled, fled. God's Messenger then said: "Today, I will most certainly give the banner to a man who loves God and His Messenger; and whom God and His Messenger love."

So [God's Messenger] called [Ali], who had ophthalmia in his eyes, and gave him the banner, and God granted him victory.

We set out for the Battle of Tabūk with God's Messenger, and he bid Ali farewell in the Valley of Wadāᶜ, and [Ali] wept, so the Prophet asked him: "What is making you cry?"

[Ali] answered: "How can I not cry? Because I have not been left behind you in any battle ever since God sent you on your mission! So, why is it that you are leaving me behind in this battle?!"

So the Messenger asked him:

أَمَا تَرْضَى يَا عَلِيُّ أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي؟! قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: بَلَى رَضِيتُ[216]

"O Ali! Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?!" Ali said: "On the contrary, I am content."

In *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah,* Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says that Abū Muhammad ᶜAskari says in the book *al-Amālī*:

In the Year of the Treaty (*ᶜĀm al-Jamaᶜah*), Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ went to see Muᶜāwiyah but did not greet him as Master of the Faithful.

Muᶜāwiyah told him: "You could greet me with a different title, if you wanted to!"

Saᶜd answered: "We are believers, and we did not appoint you as Master as you celebrate your being! O Muᶜāwiyah! By God, the position you are in does not fill me with joy even if I have to spill a cupping cupful of my own blood!"

[Muᶜāwiyah] said: "O Abū Isḥāq! Your cousin Ali and I spilled more than a cupful or two! Come now and sit with me on this sofa!"

Sa'd then sat with him, and Mu'āwiyah reminded him of his neutrality during the war, reproaching him.

Sa'd answered: "My similitude, as well as that of many people, was like a day on which darkness fell upon them, and one of them said, "*ikh*," to his camel to make it kneel to light the way for it!"

Mu'āwiyah said:

> O Abū Isḥāq! God's Book does not say
>
> إخ
>
> but it does say:
>
> وَإِنْ طَائِفَتَانِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا فَإِنْ بَغَتْ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الْأُخْرَى فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّى تَفِيءَ إِلَىٰ أَمْرِ اللَّهِ
>
> *And if two parties of believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them. And if one party of them does wrong to the other, fight that which does wrong till it returns unto the ordinance of God* (49:9). By God, you neither fought against [the party] that did wrong, nor those against whom wrong was done.

Thus, Mu'āwiyah dumfounded Sa'd.

Ibn Dīzīl adds in *al-Ḥann* from *Kitāb Ṣiffīn* that Sa'd told him:

> Do you order me to fight with a man about whom God's Messenger said: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me"?[217]
>
> Mu'āwiyah asked: "Who heard this with you?" Sa'd said: "So-and-So, So-and-So, and Umm Salamah!" Mu'āwiyah said: "If I had heard this, I would never have fought with Ali."

Ibn Dīzīl said:

> Ja'far Ibn Makkī told me:
>
> > Concerning Ali and Othman, I asked Muhammad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Salmas, the doorkeeper, whom I knew but not very well. He was a pleasant man of letters, and was wrapped up in mathematics and philosophy. He was not fanatically devoted to any jurisprudential school (*madhhab*) in particular.

I asked him what he knew about the matter of Ali and Othman, so he said in response to my question: "It is an old enmity that existed between Banī Shams and Banī Hāshim; Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah had an aversion to ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib Ibn Hāshim. And Abū Sufyān envied Muhammad and fought him; the two households carried on hating each other."

He then propounded a long hadith, eventually saying what God's Messenger said about Ali, such as the Mender of the Sandal hadith,[218] the "To Me as Aaron Was to Moses" Hadith, the "Whoever's Master I am ..." Hadith, the "This Is the Drone of the Religion..." Hadith, the "There Is No Hero except Ali..." Hadith, the "Creature Most Beloved to You" Hadith, and many similar ones, indicative of Ali's superiority and status.[219]

Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī relates eleven of those hadiths in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, from *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*,[220] three from *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*,[221] and seven from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*,[222] concerning the hadith of Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and some others about the Status Hadith when God's Messenger was setting off on the Tabūk expedition, or generally.

Similarly, it is related from the book *al-Jamᶜ bayn al-Ṣiḥāḥ* by Razīn, vol. 3, last third, chapter on Imam Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, from *Ṣaḥīḥ Abī Dāwūd* and *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*, from Abū Surayḥah and Zayd Ibn Arqam, that God's Messenger said:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ.

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master."

It is narrated from Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ that he said that God's Messenger stated:

أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي.

"You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."

Saᶜīd Ibn Musayyib says: "ᶜĀmir Ibn Saᶜd related this hadith from his father to me; however, I wanted to hear it directly from Saᶜd. Therefore, I met [Saᶜd] and asked him: 'Did you hear this [hadith straight] from God's Messenger?' Saᶜd put his fingers in his ears and said: 'Yes. If not, then may [my ears] go deaf!'"[223]

Twenty-three hadiths are also related in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, from Ibn Maghāzilī, *al-Manāqib* from ᶜĀmir Ibn Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Ibrāhīm Ibn Saᶜd, Ayishe Bint Saᶜd, and Saᶜīd Ibn Musayyib, from Abū Saᶜīd Khudrī, and from Anas Ibn Mālik, Ibn ᶜAbbās, and Saᶜīd Ibn

Musayyib, from Saʿd, and from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Masʿūd, from Muʿāwiyah and Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, all pertaining to the Status Hadith when setting off on the Tabūk expedition.[224]

The Story of the Status Hadith, When God's Messenger Was Setting Off on the Tabūk Expedition

He also narrates from Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib, from Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, who said that God's Messenger said to Ali:

أَقِمْ بِالْمَدِينَةِ، قَالَ فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، إِنَّكَ مَا خَرَجْتَ فِي غَزَاةٍ فَخَلَّفْتَنِي، فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم لِعَلِيٍّ: إِنَّ الْمَدِينَةَ لَا تَصْلُحُ إِلَّا بِي أَوْ بِكَ، وَأَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي!

قَالَ سَعِيدٌ: فَقُلْتُ لِسَعْدِ بْنِ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ: أَنْتَ سَمِعْتَ هَذَا مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم؟! قَالَ: نَعَمْ، لَا مَرَّةً وَلَا مَرَّتَيْنِ يَقُولُ ذَلِكَ لِعَلِيٍّ عليه السلام[225]

"Stay in Medina!"

[Saʿd said:] So Ali said to him: "O God's Messenger! You have never left for a battle and left me behind!" The Prophet told Ali: "Medina would not be at peace without either me or you!"

Saʿīd says: "I asked Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ: 'Did you [yourself] hear this from God's Messenger?!' He answered: 'Yes! And he did not just say that once or twice to Ali.'"

Muʿāwiyah's Declaration about the Virtues of Imam Ali and Omar's Statement Concerning the Status Hadith

The author of *al-ʿArbaʿīn ʿan al-ʿArbaʿīn* relates in his second hadith, via his unbroken chain from Maʾmūn's executor Ibrāhīm Ibn Saʿīd Jawharī, from Maʾmūn Ibn al-Rashīd [sic], from Mahdī, from Manṣūr, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said:

> When a group of people were with Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb, and they were talking to each other about the hypocrites in [the history of] Islam, I heard him say:
>
> > As for Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, I heard God's Messenger say he had three qualities, just one of which I wish I had; it would be more valuable to me than the world and everything in it. Once, Abū Bakr, Abū

ᶜUbaydah, and I, along with a group of the companions, were there when God's Messenger patted Ali on the shoulder and said:

يَا عَلِيُّ، أَنْتَ أَوَّلُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِيمَاناً، وَأَوَّلُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ اسْلاماً، وَأَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى.[226]

"O Ali! You were the first of the believers to believe and the first of the submitters (*Muslims*) to submit, and you are to me as Aaron was to Moses."

ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal narrates from *Musnad* of his father, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, via his chain:

Ali was mentioned in a [certain] man's presence. Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was also in his presence, and said:

Do you mention Ali?

إِنَّ لَهُ مَنَاقِبَ أَرْبَعَ لَأَنْ تَكُونَ لِي وَاحِدَةٌ أَحَبُّ مِنْ كَذَا، وَذَكَرَ حُمْرَ النَّعَمِ: قَوْلُهُ: لَأُعْطِيَنَّ الرَّايَةَ، وَقَوْلُهُ: أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، وَقَوْلُهُ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ. وَنَسِيَ سُفْيَانُ وَاحِدَةً.[227]

Indeed Ali has four attributes, having just one of which myself would be dearer to me than so-and-so.

He mentioned red-haired camels: [The Prophet] stated: "I will most certainly give the banner...," and said: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses...," and said: "Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master," and Sufyān [the narrator of this hadith] forgot [the fourth] one!

Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal relates via his chain in his *Musnad* from Ibn ᶜAbbās:

God's Messenger set off and the people also set off on the Tabūk expedition, so Ali asked: "Shall I leave with you, O God's Messenger?!"

The Prophet said: "No!" so Ali wept.

فَقَالَ لَهُ: أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّكَ لَسْتَ بِنَبِيٍّ، إِنَّهُ لَا يَنْبَغِي أَنْ أَذْهَبَ إِلَّا وَأَنْتَ خَلِيفَتِي.[228]

[The Prophet] then said: "Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that you are not a prophet? It is not right for me to go unless you take my place [in Medina]!"

The Reason for Leaving Imam Ali in Charge When Setting Off on the Tabūk Expedition and Ali's Staying Behind in Medina

Ibn Maghāzilī narrates via his chain:

> When God's Messenger was setting off on the Tabūk expedition, he left Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib in charge of his family, and commanded him to stay among them.
>
> Thereafter the hypocrites spread false rumors, saying: "[The Prophet] only left him behind because he finds him annoying or disdains him!"
>
> When the hypocrites said so, Ali picked up his weapon, and then went out to God's Messenger who was staying in al-Jurf,[229] and he said: "O God's Messenger! The hypocrites have claimed that you only left me [in Medina] because you find me annoying, or disdain me!"
>
> So God's Messenger replied: "The hypocrites are lying! On the contrary, I have left you in charge because of what I have left behind me! Now, return to Medina, and take my place among my family and your family. Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no Prophet after me?" Therefore, Ali returned to Medina, and God's Messenger continued on his journey.[230]

Now, we have to learn why the Prophet left Ali in charge of Medina, instead of taking him with him into battle, even though the Imam accompanied the Prophet in all his other battles: Badr, Uḥud, al-Aḥzāb, Ḥunayn, and so on; he not only accompanied the Prophet, but single-handedly achieved victory at Badr, al-Aḥzāb, Ḥunayn, and Khaybar!

Firstly, what does *istikhlāf* mean? What was [Imam Ali's] task in that important role? What was the situation of Medina at that time, such that the Prophet said: "O Ali, Medina can only be at peace with either me or you?" And why did he utter these historic words in the Status Hadith?

To make everything clear, first we have to explain the condition of Medina at that time in brief, and then go into detail and see what people's needs, qualities, and relations were like at that time.

A Brief Glance at Medina towards the End of the Prophet's Life

Now in brief, we need to know that the Tabūk expedition was in 9 AH, and lasted from Rajab to the month of Ramaḍān, i.e. a year and

a half before the Prophet's death. The situation in Medina was worsening day by day with the hypocrites' plots against the Prophet and the Muslims; and their enmity towards Islam and the believers kept increasing.

They hurt the Muslims and the Messenger so much that the Holy Prophet said: "No Prophet has ever been hurt as much as I have."

And this statement made by the Holy Prophet, according to our spiritual father and instructor and holy master, His Eminence the great ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī, may God raise his level, means that the Prophet must have been hurt by the hypocrites. That is because they had tortured some of the previous prophets more than our Prophet. One who had hidden in a tree was sawn in half along with the tree; some were boiled in boiling water or oil. Obviously, our Prophet was not hurt like this, but he did suffer worse torment by the hypocrites than any previous nation's Prophet.

But because of the power of Islam and the dignity and the strength of the Muslims, the Prophet had fewer battles and less open conflict with the enemy. When [the Muslims] took Mecca and Ṭāʾif, the two enemy strongholds collapsed; they did not have any more shelter. Many people superficially embraced Islam. However, inwardly, they remained disbelievers; many people of the Book, especially Jews, pretended to accept Islam, but carried on following their old belief!

They lived among the Muslims, attended their gatherings, and took part in their religious rites and even in political life; however, they obstructed their plans.

Their behavior was worsening day by day, their groups grew, and they built up relations with pagans and unbelievers outside Medina. The enemies of Islam from the Battles of Uḥud, Badr, and Aḥzāb now pretended to be Muslims, mixed with the [true] Muslims, attended the mosques, and took part in their public sessions. Overtly, they behaved like Muslims, but covertly they took a completely different path to God's Messenger. On the one hand, it was the Prophet's duty to accept at face value, count as a Muslim, and treat as a Muslim anyone who made the two declarations of faith and apparently believed in prayer and almsgiving. On the other hand, the Prophet was not allowed to confront and eradicate them without any admissible evidence of their crimes. Therefore, the hypocrites were a difficult problem for the Prophet to solve.

Abū ʿĀmir Rāhib, called "the sinner" (*al-fāsiq*) by the Prophet, was one of their chiefs. He used to be a Christian priest, and then embraced Islam, but fled in fear to Mecca because of his constant

plots against the Prophet. After Mecca was retaken, he fled to Ṭā'if, but after Ṭā'if was also taken, he fled to the Levant, where he continued his struggle against the Muslims, allied with the hypocrites in Medina and Mecca. He supported them and strengthened their position, promising he would go to Rome and bring a large army from the Byzantine Empire to Medina, to fight the Prophet and exterminate the Prophet and the Muslims.

The hypocrites in Medina, headed by ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy and Jadd Ibn Qays, made preparations for Abū ʿĀmir's return to Medina by spreading false rumors among the Muslims and threatening them with Rome's huge army, and the host of Ukaydir, who ruled Dūmat al-Jandal,[231] which was not very far from Medina. False propaganda circulated in Medina that Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor, had come to Tabūk along with forty thousand of his fighters, and that he had formed an alliance with four powerful tribes there. Now he was set on advancing on Medina, heavily financed and armed and with plenty of cavalry to kill the Muslims, loot their properties, and take their wives and children prisoner.

They spread this misinformation daily such that the Muslims were living in fear, expecting them to enter the town any moment. So it totally changed the situation in Medina.

In that state of affairs, there was constant revelation of stern Qur'anic verses, commanding the Muslims all to mobilize [an army] and encouraging them to sacrifice themselves and their properties on God's Path. The Prophet also made them alert and ready to fight against the Byzantines, and all the Muslims got ready to struggle. They set out as a huge army to encounter the enemy.

Because the hypocrites had also been enjoined to fight, they each made different excuses for not taking part in the fighting.

Some of them, like ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, who held great status, set out for Jurf[232] along with his own men and companions, to the same general place as the Prophet, albeit some distance away from the Prophet's army. [ʿAbdullāh] stopped and set up camp, and hoisted his banner.

It is said that his army was no smaller than the Prophet's.[233]

When the Prophet was ready to leave, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy and his army returned to Medina, saying: "Muhammad thinks that fighting with the Byzantines is as simple as fighting with the Arabs. By God, all his fighters will be killed! They will die of heat exhaustion, thirst, and hunger. By God, it is as if I can see Muhammad and his men, tied up with ropes."[234]

The Hypocrites Build a Mosque to Use as Headquarters

When God's Messenger was leaving for the battle, the hypocrites went to him, saying: "We have built a mosque in our quarter, close to the Mosque of Qubā, for our weak and elderly. We cannot go to Qubā Mosque on rainy winter nights, and we do not want to miss congregational prayers, so we pray there; so please come to our mosque and inaugurate it by praying there."

The hypocrites were lying! They had built the mosque in opposition to the Muslims to plot against and divide them, and as central headquarters to assemble in. They had made a covenant with Abū ʿĀmir Rāhib for him to return to Medina in the Messenger's absence, to lead congregational prayers and be their chief. And they thought that the Prophet would lose his life in that battle, or even if he survived the battle, then he would surely be killed by those twelve or fourteen men sent to kill him on the pass! To make matters worse, they planned to attack the Prophet's and Muslims' wives and offspring and kill them, capture them, or send them out of Medina while the Prophet was away. Thus everything the Prophet had achieved would be undone both inside and outside Medina, and Islam would be lamented by its wailers.

The Prophet Appoints Ali as Caliph in Medina, While He Is Away on the Tabūk Expedition

As God's Messenger knew full well what their intention was, he thought he had better leave Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib in charge as his deputy in Medina to stop their plots. And he knew that no one but Ali was capable of handling it properly. Besides, he knew that there would be no bloodshed on that expedition that would require Ali's ferocious, leonine ability to split whole lines and crush the enemy. That is why he appointed him as his deputy in Medina.

فَأَوْحَى اللهُ تَعَالَى إِلَيْهِ: يَا مُحَمَّدُ! إِنَّ الْعَلِيَّ الْأَعْلَى يُقْرِأُ عَلَيْكَ السَّلَامَ وَيَقُولُ لَكَ: إِمَّا أَنْ تَخْرُجَ أَنْتَ وَيُقِيمَ عَلِيٌّ، وَإِمَّا أَنْ يَخْرُجَ عَلِيٌّ وَتُقِيمَ أَنْتَ!

So, God, the most High, revealed to [the Prophet]: "O Muhammad! Indeed the High, the Most High, salutes you, and says to you: 'Either you must set off while Ali stays there, or he must set off while you stay there!'"

The Prophet informed Ali of the revelation. Ali said: "I hear and obey God's command and His Messenger's command, even though

I would prefer not to be away from God's Messenger in any circumstances."

فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلم: أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي؟

Therefore, God's Messenger said: "Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?" Ali answered: "I am content, O God's Messenger."

The Prophet stated:

يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ إِنَّ لَكَ أَجْرَ خُرُوجِكَ مَعِي فِي مَقَامِكَ بِالْمَدِينَةِ وَإِنَّ اللهَ قَدْ جَعَلَكَ أُمَّةً وَحْدَكَ كَمَا جَعَلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ أُمَّةً، تَمْنَعُ جَمَاعَةَ الْمُنَافِقِينَ وَالْكُفَّارِ هَيْبَتُكَ عَنِ الْحَرَكَةِ عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ

"O Abū al-Hasan, though you are staying behind in Medina, you will receive the reward of accompanying me. You are a one-[man] nation, just as God made Abraham a one-[man] nation! The awe you inspire will stop the hypocrites and unbelievers from making a move against the Muslims."

When the Prophet left Medina for the encampment, and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was busy seeing him off, the hypocrites started making nasty comments. They said: "Muhammad only left [Ali] behind in Medina because he hates him or is bored with him! He just wants the hypocrites to launch a surprise attack on him at dark night, kill him, fight him, and destroy him!"

Imam Ali went to God's Messenger, and asked him: "O God's Messenger, do you hear what they are saying?"

فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: أَمَا يَكْفِيكَ أَنَّكَ جِلْدَةُ مَا بَيْنَ عَيْنَيَّ وَنُورُ بَصَرِي وَكَالرُّوحِ فِي بَدَنِي؟[235]

So God's Messenger said: "Does it not suffice you to be the piece of skin between my eyes, the light of my eyes, and like the soul within my body!"

Then Imam Ali returned to Medina, and undertook preserving and protecting Medina from the hypocrites' scheming, and assumed the responsibility of looking after God's Messenger's offspring and wives (*ahl*) until the Prophet and Muslims returned from their expedition, which took about two months.

But in detail, the *anbāṭ*, the plural of *nabaṭ*, were non-Arabs who lived between Iraq and the Levant, and who used to travel to Medina, both during the time of ignorance and after the advent of Islam, to buy and sell their wares, such as *darmak*,[236] [white wheat flour, olive]

oil, and so on, and they were the news sources for what reached the Muslims from the Levant.

So they informed the Muslims that Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor,[237] had been preparing his army for a whole year and had made a covenant and peace-treaty with the Christian Arab tribes of Lakhm, Judham, Ghassān, and ʿĀmilah; in short, they were ready to attack Medina. The people there had come together and united, and the vanguard of the army had reached Balqāʾ[238] and was stationed there, but Heraclius himself had stayed in Homs.[239]

Obviously it was not so; it was just a rumor they had spread among the Muslims![240]

At that time, there was greater threat to the Muslims than the Byzantines because the Muslims could see how wealthy, well-equipped, and well-endowed with livestock the merchants who came to Medina were. The Prophet would normally initially hide where they were going to fight, but before this expedition he announced that he had resolved to fight the Byzantines so that they would be adequately prepared with horses, camels, food, and other supplies, and so that they would be equipped for the long journey.

The Prophet Motivates People to Struggle on God's Path

This expedition was in the middle of a hot summer, so he let the army know that they had to be particularly well equipped. And he sent a message to the tribes in Mecca to be prepared for the expedition. The Prophet encouraged every Muslim to get ready to encounter the enemy, and enjoined them to collect enough charity and donations to support them during the war—he even commanded them to bring the least things they had, such as the string used to tie up the mouths of water skins. Women brought and handed over their entire jewelry collections.

Umm Sinān Aslamiyyah says:

> I saw that they had spread a piece of cloth in front of God's Messenger, and it was piled with gold necklaces, rings, and bracelets women had donated from everywhere in the land.
>
> And at that time, the trees were green, fruits were ripe, and it was pleasant to sit in the shade of the trees. Naturally, for many people it was better to stay at home in Medina; it seemed unpleasant for them to leave the town.

On the other hand, the Prophet kept encouraging the people to get ready and set out as soon as possible. He had stopped his army at the Valley of Wadā'[241] and the soldiers were too numerous to record or reckon! [242]

The Verses of the Qur'an Persuading People to Engage in *Jihād*, and Warning against Not Assisting the Prophet

And in that state, when some of the people were lingering behind and were reluctant to set out, and fruit trees in Medina were luring people to stay at home, this verse was revealed:

يا أيها الذين آمنوا ما لكم إذا قيل لكم انفروا في سبيل الله اثاقلتم إلى الأرض أرضيتم بالحيوة الدنيا من الآخرة فما متاع الحيوة الدنيا في الآخرة إلا قليل. إلا تنفروا يعذبكم عذابا أليما ويستبدل قوما غيركم ولا تضروه شيئا والله على كل شيء قدير.

O you who believe! What ails you that when it is said unto you: Go forth in the way of God, you are bowed down to the ground with heaviness. Take you pleasure in the life of the world rather than in the Hereafter? The comfort of the life of the world is but little in the Hereafter. If you go not forth He will afflict you with a painful doom, and will choose instead of you a folk other than you. You cannot harm Him at all. God is Able to do all things (9:38–39).

Commentary: O Muslims! Do not listen to what the hypocrites say! Do not listen to their nonsense weakening you from fighting. Be not deceived and beguiled by their despairing words saying: "Look, now your garden is pleasant and the fruits are about to ripen; and it is too hot now and it is not time to go such a long distance to Byzantium. Muhammad knows not military strategy, or the strength of the Byzantines. He does not know that fighting with the Byzantines is quite different from fighting with the Arabs." So do not listen to their nonsense and meaningless words, and know that

إلا تنصروه فقد نصره الله إذ أخرجه الذين كفروا ثاني اثنين إذ هما في الغار إذ يقول لصاحبه لا تحزن إن الله معنا فأنزل الله سكينته عليه وأيده بجنود لم تروها وجعل كلمة الذين كفروا السفلى وكلمة الله هي العليا والله عزيز حكيم.

If you help him not, still God helped him when those who disbelieve drove him forth, the second of two; when they two were in the cave, when he said unto his comrade: Grieve not. Lo! God is with us. Then God caused His peace of reassurance to descend upon him and supported him with hosts you cannot see, and made the word of those who disbelieved the nethermost,

while God's Word it was that became the uppermost. God is Mighty, Wise (9:40).

انْفِرُوا خِفَافًا وَثِقَالًا وَجَاهِدُوا بِأَمْوَالِكُمْ وَأَنْفُسِكُمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ ذَٰلِكُمْ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ

Go forth, khifāfan wa thiqālan, *and strive with your wealth and your lives in the way of God! That is best for you if you but knew* (9:41).

Shaykh Ṭabrisī says:

> Hasan, Mujāhid, ʿIkrimah, Ḍaḥḥāk, and others say: "*Khifāfan wa thiqālan* means young and old." Ibn ʿAbbās and Qatādah say: "No matter whether you are cheerful or depressed." Ḥakam says: "No matter whether you are busy or free." Abū Ṣāliḥ says: "No matter whether you are rich or poor." Farrāʾ says: "*Khifāfan* means those who are short of money and have few children, and *thiqālan* means those who have plenty of money and have many children." Abū ʿAmr and ʿAṭiyyah ʿAwfī say: "Either mounted or on foot." Ibn Zayd says: "Either skilled or unskilled." Yamān says: "Unmarried or married."

Then he says: "But the best explanation is that it applies to all. It means: 'March forth to struggle, no matter whether it is easy for you (*khaffa ʿalaykum*) or difficult (*shaqq*), no matter what condition you are in, because everyone is at least one of the above!'"[243]

ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī says:

> ʿ*Khifāf* and *thiqāl* are the plurals of *khafīf* and *thaqīl*; *thiql* (difficulty) in the context is a metonym for any kind of outward obstacle stopping one from engaging in *jihād*, like numerous financial distractions, or love for one's wife, children, relatives, and friends, making it difficult to leave them behind, or lack of provisions, mount, weaponry, and so on; *khiffah* (ease) is the opposite.
>
> Therefore, the order to march *khifāfan wa thiqālan* means marching forth in any event. One must not make any excuse for not setting forth, as it says: "march forth with your properties and souls"; it means go on anyway.
>
> And it is clear that the command in this verse is unqualified, but this does not mean that it cannot be qualified by any of the usual dispensations from *jihād*, such as illness, blindness, lameness, and so on, because ease (*khiffa*) and difficulty (*thiql*) mean something else.[244]

In any case, the tribal chiefs and well-to-dos went, one after the other, to the Prophet, and each made his excuse for not taking part in *jihād*! Of course the Prophet sent them, too, on their way!

The Well-Known Hypocrite, Jadd Ibn Qays, Stops His Tribe from Taking Part in *Jihād*

Wāqidī says:

> God's Messenger asked Jadd Ibn Qays [who was one of the chiefs of the hypocrites]: "O Abū Wahab, are you going to set forth with us this year? Perhaps you will bag yourself one of the yellow-skins' daughters."[245]
>
> Jadd Ibn Qays said: "Will you let me off, and not tempt me?! By God, everyone in my tribe knows that no one likes women more than I do. I fear that if I see the Byzantines' (Banī al-Aṣfar's) wives, I will not be able to restrain myself from them!"
>
> Thus, God's Messenger turned away from him and said: "I let you off."
>
> [Jadd Ibn Qays's] son ʿAbdullāh, who was a Badr veteran, and a maternal half-brother to Muʿādh Ibn Jabal, asked his father: "Why did you reject God's Messenger's invitation? By God, there is no one in [the tribe of] Banī Salimah wealthier than you, but you are not marching forth [with the Prophet; nor are you giving away [any of your horses or camels] to anyone [else to go with him]!"
>
> Jadd answered: "O my son! What business is it of mine going out in this wind, heat, and hardship to the Byzantines (Banī al-Aṣfar)! By the way, by God, I am not afraid of the Byzantines; I prefer to stay in my poor shelter! You go on and fight them! My son, by God, I am quite aware of the disastrous events on their way!"
>
> His son, ʿAbdullāh, was harsh with him and said: "No, by God. Rather it is hypocrisy! By God, Qur'an which the people will recite concerning you will most certainly be revealed."[246]

[Wāqidī says]:

> So [Jadd] took off his sandal and hit him on the face!
>
> His son left without saying any [more] to him. However, this filthy [man] began dissuading his people. He told Jabbār Ibn Ṣakhr, and a group of Banī Salimah, who were always with him: "O Banī Salimah, do not march forth in this heat!" He kept saying so, to put them off *jihād*, to sow doubt in the truth, and to spread false rumors about God's Messenger, so Mighty and Sublime God revealed:

فَرِحَ الْمُخَلَّفُونَ بِمَقْعَدِهِمْ خِلَافَ رَسُولِ اللهِ وَكَرِهُوا أَنْ يُجَاهِدُوا بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ وَقَالُوا لَا تَنْفِرُوا فِي الْحَرِّ قُلْ نَارُ جَهَنَّمَ أَشَدُّ حَرًّا لَوْ كَانُوا يَفْقَهُونَ. فَلْيَضْحَكُوا قَلِيلًا وَلْيَبْكُوا كَثِيرًا جَزَاءً بِمَا كَانُوا يَكْسِبُونَ.

Those who were left behind rejoiced at sitting still behind the Messenger of God, and were averse to striving with their wealth and their lives in God's way. And they said: Go not forth in the heat! Say: The fire of hell is more intense of heat, if they but understood. Then let them laugh a little: they will weep much, as the reward of what they used to earn (9:81–82).

This verse was also revealed about Jadd Ibn Qays:

وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَقُولُ ائْذَنْ لِي وَلَا تَفْتِنِّي أَلَا فِي الْفِتْنَةِ سَقَطُوا وَإِنَّ جَهَنَّمَ لَمُحِيطَةٌ بِالْكَافِرِينَ.

Of them is he who says: Grant me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not. Surely it is into temptation that they (thus) have fallen. Lo! Hell verily is all around the disbelievers (9:49)!

First the verse alludes to lying, and secondly doubt in the faith, accepting the Prophet's command to engage in short-distance, easy *jihād* where there is booty, but rejecting long-distance, tiring *jihād*, all of which was greater temptation into which he had fallen.

This man claimed that the beautiful Byzantine women would tempt him, but he was just lying! He said so to avoid fighting; he would save his own life, which was dearer to him than the Prophet's. His way of thinking was a greater temptation into which he had fallen!

When this verse was revealed, ʿAbdullāh went to his father and said to him: "Did I not tell you that Qurʾan that the Muslims would recite would be revealed about you?!" Jadd answered his son:

اسْكُتْ عَنِّي يَا كَعْ وَاللهِ لَا أَنْفَعُكَ بِنَافِضَةِ أَبَدًا، وَاللهِ لَأَنْتَ أَشَدُّ عَلَيَّ مِنْ مُحَمَّدٍ [247]

"Silence, fool! By God, I will never provide you any benefit! By God, you are harder on me than Muhammad is!"

Ibn Hishām narrates via his chain from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ḥārithah, from his father, from his grandfather, [who] said:

God's Messenger was informed that some of the hypocrites were gathering in Suwaylim the Jew's house, which was in Jāsūm. They were planning to stop the people from going to the Battle of Tabūk. So the Prophet sent Ṭalḥah Ibn ʿUbaydillāh along with some of his companions to burn Suwaylim's house down on them.

So Ṭalḥah did so; and [when Suwaylim's house was burning], Ḍaḥḥāk Ibn Khalīfah [who was of the hypocrites] jumped down from the roof of the house and broke his leg; his friends [also] hurtled out and escaped.[248]

God's Messenger's Sermon When Leaving for the Battle of Tabūk

Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm Qummī says:

God's Messenger commanded his army and they set up camp in al-Wadāʿ Valley. He ordered the wealthy to help those who had no supplies, and whoever had anything to take it out. They carried, supplied, and encouraged [others] to do so. God's Messenger delivered a sermon, saying:

أيها الناس! إنَّ أصدقَ الحديثِ كتابُ اللهِ، وأولى القولِ كلمةُ التقوى، وخيرُ الملَلِ ملةُ إبراهيم، وخيرُ السُّنَنِ سُنَّةُ مُحمَّدٍ، وأشرفُ الحديثِ ذِكرُ اللهِ، وأحسنُ القَصَصِ هذا القرآنُ، وخيرُ الامورِ عزائمُها، وشرُّ الامورِ مُحدَثاتُها، وأحسنُ الهدْيِ هدْيُ الانبياءِ، وأشرفُ القتلِ قتلُ الشُّهداءِ، وأعمى العمى الضلالةُ بعدَ الهُدى، وخيرُ الاعمالِ ما نفَع، وخيرُ الهدْيِ ما اتُّبِعَ، وشرُّ العمى عمى القلبِ، واليدُ العُليا خيرٌ من اليدِ السُّفلى، وما قلَّ وكفى خيرٌ مما كثُرَ وألهى، وشرُّ المعذِرةِ حينَ يحضُرُ الموتُ، وشرُّ الندامةِ يومَ القيامةِ.

ومِنَ الناسِ مَن لا يأتي الجُمُعةَ إلَّا نَزْراً، ومِنهُم مَن لا يذكُرُ اللهَ إلَّا هجْراً، ومِن أعظمِ الخطايا اللِّسانُ الكذوبُ، وخيرُ الغِنى غِنَى النفسِ، وخيرُ الزادِ التقوى، ورأسُ الحِكمةِ مخافةُ اللهِ، وخيرُ ما ألقيَ في القلبِ اليقينُ، والارتيابُ من الكفرِ، والنِّياحةُ من عملِ الجاهليةِ، والغُلولُ من جمرِ جهنَّمَ، والسُّكْرُ جمرُ النارِ، والشِّعرُ من إبليسَ، والخمرُ جماعُ الإثمِ، النساءُ حبائلُ إبليسَ، والشبابُ شُعبةٌ من الجنونِ، وشرُّ المكاسبِ كسبُ الربا، وشرُّ المآكلِ أكلُ مالِ اليتيمِ، والسعيدُ من وُعِظَ بغيرِه، والشقيُّ من شقيَ في بطنِ امِّه، وإنَّما يصيرُ أحدُكُم إلى موضعِ أربعةِ أذرُعٍ، والامرُ إلى آخرِه، ومَلاكُ العملِ خواتيمُه، وأربى الربا الكذِبُ، وكلُّ ما هو آتٍ قريبٌ، وسِبابُ المؤمنِ فسوقٌ، وقتالُ المؤمنِ كفرٌ، وأكلُ لحمِه معصيةُ اللهِ، وحُرمةُ مالِه كحُرمةِ دمِه، ومَن توكَّلَ على اللهِ كفاه، ومَن صبَرَ ظفِرَ، ومَن يعفُ عنِ الناسِ يعفُ اللهُ عنه، ومَن كظَمَ الغيظَ يأجُرُه اللهُ، ومَن يصبِرْ على الرزيةِ يعوِّضْه اللهُ، ومَن يتبَّعِ السُّمعةَ يسمِّعِ اللهُ به، ومَن يصُمْ يضاعِفِ اللهُ له، ومَن يعصِ اللهَ يعذِّبْه، اللهمَّ اغفِرْ لي ولأمتي، اللهمَّ اغفِرْ لي ولأمتي، أستغفِرُ اللهَ لي ولكم.[249]

(This sermon delivered by the Prophet is similar to other brief sermons he delivered, like his sermon when he was leaving for the Battle of Uḥud;[250] it is full of meaningful advice, wisdom, and moral lessons. It is worthy of lengthy commentary; however, to maintain brevity, we shall just translate it):

> O people! The most truthful saying is God's Book. And the most desirable word is the word of piety. And the best nation is that of Abraham; and the best of traditions is the tradition of Muhammad. And the noblest speech is remembrance of God; and the best stories are this Qur'an. And the best affairs are those carried out earnestly with good intention, as enjoined and incumbent affairs (*ʿazā'imuhā*). And the worst affairs are those that are innovated! And the best of guidance is the guidance of the prophets. And the noblest way to be killed is to be killed as martyrs; and the profoundest blindness is blindness after being guided. And the best deeds are those that are beneficial. And the best guidance is that which is followed. And the worst blindness is blindness of the heart. And the hand on top is better than the hand underneath. That which is scarce but suffices is better than that which is plentiful but distracts! And the worst excuse is that which comes when dying. And the worst regret is on the Day of Resurrection.
>
> Some people only attend Friday Prayer from time to time, and some of them only remember God half-heartedly! And one of the worst errors is a thoroughly untruthful tongue. And the best wealth is richness of the soul. And the best provision is piety. And the core of wisdom is fear of God. And the best thing that can be cast into the heart is certainty, and doubt in disbelief. And wailing is the practice of the [time of] ignorance. And secret misappropriation of spoils is of Hell's live coal, and drunkenness is hellfire's live coal. And poetry comes from Satan (Iblīs), and intoxication is the root of all sins. And women are the ropes for Satan's (Iblīs's) trap! And rhapsodizing (*al-shabāb*) is a branch of madness.[251] And the worst earnings are earning interest. The worst food is devouring the properties of orphans. And happy are those who are warned by others. And miserable are those who are [already] miserable in their mothers' wombs! Every one of you is traveling towards a place the length of which is four *dhirāʿs*,[252] and the matter is only of benefit if it reaches its end, and a deed's subsistence is its results. The worst usury is lying. And everything that is yet to come is nigh. Cursing a believer is depravity, fighting with the believers is disbelief, and backbiting against them is [sinful] disobedience of God. A believer's property is as sacrosanct as his life (*damihi*). God suffices whoever puts his trust in Him; whoever forbears, succeeds. Whoever forgives people, God will forgive him. Whoever controls his anger, God will reward him.

Whoever forbears in the face of a disaster, God will recompense him. Whoever pursues prestige, God will disgrace him for it. Whoever fasts, God will reward him manifoldly. And whoever sins, God will punish him.

O God! Forgive me and my nation! O God! Forgive me and my nation! I seek God's forgiveness for me and for you!

God Is Only Figuratively Forgiving His Prophet, Because There Is Nothing to Forgive

In any case, concerning the hypocrites who had asked the Prophet to excuse them from taking part in the battle, this verse was revealed:

عَفَا اللهُ عَنْكَ لِمَ اذِنْتَ لَهُمْ حَتّٰى يَتَبَيَّنَ لَكَ الَّذِينَ صَدَقُوا وَتَعْلَمَ الْكَاذِبِينَ

God forgive you! Why did you grant them leave, before those who told the truth were manifest to you and you knew the liars? (9:43). Here we notice that God, the Exalted, has reproached the Prophet, so we need to understand whether the reproach is meant seriously, or is one of many such examples of reproach of others disguised as reproach of the Prophet.[253]

Tafsīr Nūr al-Thaqalayn says, quoting *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, that Shaykh Ṣadūq relates via his chain from Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jahm, [who] said:

I was in Maʾmūn's ["caliphal"] court, and [Imam] Riḍā was with him.

Maʾmūn said to [His Holiness]: "O God's Messenger's son! Is it not of what you say that Prophets are infallible?" [His Holiness] said: "Yes."

Maʾmūn then asked, inter alia:

Then tell me about Honorable and Exalted God's words:

عَفَا اللهُ عَنْكَ لِمَ اذِنْتَ لَهُمْ

God forgive you! Why did you grant them leave...? (9:43).

[His Holiness] replied:

This is one of those that were revealed by way of

لِيَاكِ أَعْنِي وَاسْمَعِي يَا جَارَه[254]

God addressed that to His Prophet, but meant his nation; the same applies to the Honorable and Exalted's words:

لَئِنْ أَشْرَكْتَ لَيَحْبَطَنَّ عَمَلُكَ وَلَتَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ.

And verily it has been revealed unto you as unto those before you: If you ascribe a partner [to God] your work will fail and you indeed will be among the losers (39:65) and His words:

وَلَوْلَا أَنْ ثَبَّتْنَاكَ لَقَدْ كِدْتَ تَرْكَنُ إِلَيْهِمْ شَيْئًا قَلِيلًا.

And if We had not made you wholly firm you might almost have inclined unto them a little (17:74).

Ma'mūn said: "O God's Messenger's son, you have spoken the truth!"[255]

Now, we do not think there is a better commentary on and explanation of His Holiness Imam Riḍā's response than that by our great master ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī in *Tafsīr al-Mizān*. He says that the first phrase:

عفا الله عنك

"May God forgive you" is a prayer for forgiveness for the Prophet, similar to the prayer against mankind in God's words:

قُتِلَ الْإِنْسَانُ مَا أَكْفَرَهُ

Man is (self-)destroyed: how ungrateful (80:17) and:

قُتِلَ كَيْفَ قَدَّرَ

(Self-)destroyed is he [Walīd Ibn Mughīrah], how he planned (74:19) and:

قَاتَلَهُمُ اللَّهُ أَنَّىٰ يُؤْفَكُونَ

May God fight against them. How perverse are they (9:30), i.e. the Jews who claimed that Ezra was God's son, and the Christians who said: "Jesus is the Son of God!"

And this phrase about forgiveness is subordinately dependent upon

لم اذنت

"Why did you let..." that is, why did you let the hypocrites stay behind and sit out the battle? As the interrogative is for disapproval and reproach, it means: "You should not have let them stay behind and sit it out," and it is correct for the consequence:

حَتَّىٰ يَتَبَيَّنَ لَكَ الَّذِينَ صَدَقُوا وَتَعْلَمَ الْكَاذِبِينَ

before those who told the truth were manifest to you and you knew the liars, to be subordinately dependent on

لمااذنت

Why did you let. The subordinate dependence is on that about which the question is asked (*al-mustafham ʿanhu*), not the interrogative (*al-istifhām*).

So the sentence is structured to expose [the hypocrites'] deceit, and show that the slightest test such as not granting them leave to sit the battle out would shame them.

Thus the verse actually means: May God forgive you! Why did you grant them leave?! If you had wanted to, you could have not granted them leave—which is what they deserved—so that it would become clear to you which of them were telling the truth and you would know who was lying. And in that way, their deceit and hypocrisy would become clear to you!

Therefore, the verse is in its capacity as a claim that their deceit and hypocrisy is apparent, and if tested only slightly they will be disgraced. It is appropriate in this capacity to reproach and show approval to the one addressed in the second person [the Prophet] as if it is he who is covering up the ignominy of their deeds and their ill intent.

It is a kind of metaphorical expression, through which everything becomes clear, because it is clear that something else is intended; it is an instance of expression by way of:

اياك اعني واسمعي ياجاره

I mean you; listen, neighbor.

The intended meaning is to make this claim apparent: that [the hypocrites'] deeds and intentions are evil. The Prophet has not been remiss or administered badly in carrying out God's commandment. He has not committed a sin! He never would! The preferabilty of his not having granted the hypocrites leave is because they deserved it for reason of their ulterior motive and ill intent, and not because it was inherently more desirable or more necessary for the good of the religion.

Evidence in support of our claim is provided by God's words three verses later:

لَوْ خَرَجُوا فِيكُمْ مَا زَادُوكُمْ إِلَّا خَبَالًا وَلَأَوْضَعُوا خِلَالَكُمْ يَبْغُونَكُمُ الْفِتْنَةَ وَفِيكُمْ سَمَّاعُونَ لَهُمْ وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ بِالظَّالِمِينَ. لَقَدِ ابْتَغَوُا الْفِتْنَةَ مِنْ قَبْلُ وَقَلَّبُوا لَكَ الْأُمُورَ حَتَّىٰ جَاءَ الْحَقُّ وَظَهَرَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ وَهُمْ كَارِهُونَ.

If the Hypocrites Had Left for the Battle, They Would Have Done Nothing but Corrupt

Had they gone forth among you they would have added to you naught save trouble and would have hurried to and fro among you, seeking to cause sedition among you; and among you there are some who would have listened to them. God is Aware of evil-doers. Indeed they sought to cause sedition and raised difficulties for you before till the Truth came and God's decree was made manifest, though they were loth (9:47–48). [This means] even if the hypocrites had gone on the Tabūk expedition alongside you, the believers, they would have given you nothing but treachery, corruption, and disorder. They would soon have sabotaged your work, plotted sedition, and caused instability. Some of you would have listened to them, or some of them were spies among your ranks. God knows who the wrongdoers are. They had previously plotted to spread sedition and to put an end to Islam at the Battles of Uḥud and of the Trench (al-Khandaq). O Messenger, they turned matters upside-down for you until truth won and God's mandate was victorious, though they were averse.[256]

As the hypocrites would have done nothing but harm even if they had gone along to fight; it was better to let them stay behind to protect the united front from confusion, corrupt ideas, and disunity. It was better for them to sit the battle out so as not to try the believers by causing division and sedition among them. Some of the believers had weak faith or had sick minds and would have been receptive to, and quick to comply with, the hypocrites. If they had not been granted leave, they would have caused division, the trial would have been tougher, and the split would have been wider and greater. This is confirmed by what God says, two verses later on:

وَلَوْ أَرَادُوا الْخُرُوجَ لَأَعَدُّوا لَهُ عُدَّةً وَلَٰكِن كَرِهَ اللَّهُ انبِعَاثَهُمْ فَثَبَّطَهُمْ وَقِيلَ اقْعُدُوا مَعَ الْقَاعِدِينَ

And if they had wished to go forth they would assuredly have made ready some equipment, but God was averse to their being sent forth and held them back and it was said (unto them): Sit with the sedentary (9:46).

Hence, their disobedience and hypocrisy was apparent from their lack of provisions; it could be read on their faces by anyone with any sense. How then could it be hidden from the Prophet? Before revealing this chapter *Sūrat al-Barā'ah* ("Repentance"), God had time and again informed the Prophet about them. So how can the reproach here be an earnest reproach of the Prophet for not withholding the grant of leave, and investigating them until their hypocrisy became

clear to him, and the hypocrites were distinguished from the true believers?!

Therefore, the reproach can only mean what we said it does.

The Prophet Does Not Make Mistakes, and His Personal Judgment Is Always Correct

It is clear from the above that it is incorrect what some say, namely that this verse proves that the Prophet did commit a sin, because there can be no forgiveness without sin; it was wrong of him to grant leave, albeit a minor sin, because it cannot be asked about a permissible act: Why did you commit it? As we have explained in detail, the verse is propounded for a different purpose, not as a serious reproach of the Prophet!

After some brief explanation, ʿAllāmah says that the same speaker states prolixly that the granting of permission was pursuant to the Prophet's own personal judgment pertaining to a matter about which there had not yet been any revelation from God; this kind of personal judgment was permissible for prophets, and they did indeed exercise it. They were not infallible with regard to mistakes; the only infallibility on which there is consensus is infallibility in relation to receipt of revelation, explanation thereof, and acting in accordance with it—it is impossible for God's Messenger to lie or err in what he delivers from his Lord or to disobey it in practice.

Another example of [the Prophet's] erroneous personal judgment is referred to in *Sūrat al-Anfāl* ("The Spoils of War") where God reproaches His Messenger for taking ransoms from the prisoners taken at the Battle of Badr:

مَا كَانَ لِنَبِيٍّ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ أَسْرَىٰ حَتَّىٰ يُثْخِنَ فِي الْأَرْضِ تُرِيدُونَ عَرَضَ الدُّنْيَا وَاللَّهُ يُرِيدُ الْآخِرَةَ وَاللَّهُ
عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ ۔ لَوْلَا كِتَابٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ سَبَقَ لَمَسَّكُمْ فِيمَا أَخَذْتُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ

It is not for any prophet to have captives until he has thoroughly subdued the land. You desire the lure of this world and God desires (for you) the Hereafter, and God is Mighty, Wise. Had it not been for an ordinance of God which had gone before, a severe punishment would have come upon you on account of what you took (8:67–68).

ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī's Statement on the Prophet's Infallibility Even with Regard to His Grant of Leave to the Hypocrites

What [the Sunni scholar] says here, as elsewhere, is wrong, and not acceptable, because the reproach, in this verse, is not for taking ransoms from prisoners of war but rather for taking prisoners of war in the first place. The verse says: *It is not for any prophet to have captives...* No verse or hadith says that the Prophet ever gave the order to take prisoners of war; on the contrary, there are some hadiths that tell the story and say that when the Prophet gave the order for the prisoners to be killed at the Battle of Badr, the companions were worried that the Prophet would kill all of them. Therefore, they implored the Prophet, and suggested demanding a ransom instead, saying: "We can equip an army and become stronger than the enemies of the religion by taking a ransom from them." However, God rejected this, calling it *the lure of this world*, and did not permit taking, then releasing, prisoners in exchange for a ransom; He said: "The Prophet just has to stain the face of the land by spilling the pagans' blood!" So this is one of the best proofs that the verse is specifically intended for the [rank and file] believers, not the Prophet, or both him and them: Most hadiths concerning this are fabricated or interpolated.

Moreover, if the Prophet alone is being reproached, or he and others, contrary to [the Sunni scholar's] claim, it cannot possibly mean reproach for *dhanb* in the lexical sense, i.e. missing a benefit. How too can it be construed as a minor sin and forgivable mistake? After all, God says after this reproach: *Had it not been for an ordinance of God which had gone before, a severe punishment would have come upon you on account of what you took* (8:68).

No one with any sense can doubt there is only ever a threat of severe punishment for a major sin, not a failure to do what is best (*tark al-awlā*) or a forgivable, overlookable minor sin.

So, this is also some of the best evidence that the reproach is actually meant for someone else, not the Prophet.

In brief, it is clear from our detailed explanation that the Prophet committed no sin and made no mistake, in either the ordinary or lexical sense.

This is according to the explicit wording of the verses that say that the hypocrites' not going out to war was actually of greater benefit to the Muslims and better for the army's cohesion and unity, because the Muslims were better protected from sedition and disunity.

This is what would have been wrong if the Prophet had actually refused them leave and ordered them to go, because the hypocrites would have revealed whatever unbelief and hypocrisy they had previously kept hidden. They had not made any preparations to go. If the Prophet had not granted them leave, their disobedience and opposition would have been even more serious. The Prophet knew that they were not prepared to go. The Prophet's position and status was too great for him to be unaware of this. He knew their own intentions better than they did. They were right before his eyes and ears. God says about them:

وَلَوْ أَرَادُوا الْخُرُوجَ لَأَعَدُّوا لَهُ عُدَّةً

And if they had wished to go forth they would assuredly have made ready some equipment (9:46). Furthermore, God says to the Prophet: *And you shall know them by the tone of their speech!* (47:30). In this case, how can it be unknown to the Prophet? As one of them said:

ائْذَن لِّي وَلَا تَفْتِنِّي

Grant me leave, tempt me not (9:49), another said about the Prophet:

هُوَ أُذُنٌ

He is (all) ear! [i.e. gullible] (9:61), and another found faults in His Holiness's charitable affairs:

وَمِنْهُم مَّن يَلْمِزُكَ فِي الصَّدَقَاتِ

And among them is he who slanders you in the matter of the alms (9:58). All these remarks are manifestations of their hypocrisy, beyond which there is nothing but unbelief and opposition.

The Prophet knew their hypocrisy and opposition; he was aware of their ill-intentions, but God still "reproaches" him: "Why did you not withhold leave, not investigate them, and not distinguish them from others?" It can only have been a reproach not meant in earnest for the aforementioned purpose.

As regards the other statement made by [this Sunni scholar], that the [albeit] forgivable grant of leave by the Prophet caused him to miss out on a benefit as referred to in the verse

حَتَّىٰ يَتَبَيَّنَ لَكَ الَّذِينَ صَدَقُوا وَتَعْلَمَ الْكَاذِبِينَ

before those who told the truth were manifest to you and you knew the liars, is also incorrect. This is because the verse refers to a very specific sifting process: distinguishing those who had told the truth *to the Prophet* and knowing them apart from those who were lying, not a comprehensive sieving of those telling the truth and knowing them from those who were lying! And it is clear from what was stated above that he knew [who had told him the truth from those who had lied to him], and that the true benefit lay in granting them permission, [this benefit] being to

shut the gate on sedition and disunity. The Prophet also knew that they would not go into battle anyway—no matter whether he granted them leave or not. Therefore, to maintain a semblance of being obeyed by them and to maintain unity, he decided to grant them leave.

So, one should not assume that it would have been a show of strength and of the Prophet's authority if their hypocrisy had been exposed at that time—i.e. the day the Prophet was setting off on the Tabūk expedition—by not granting them leave and not ridding people of their sedition and divisiveness.

This assumption is incorrect, because at that time, non-Muslims were in awe of the power of Islam, the large numbers embracing Islam, and the sharpness of the Muslims' swords! However, the Muslims among themselves were not yet free of hypocrisy and sickness of the heart, were not yet united and firmly resolved!

Evidence of this is these verses and those that follow them in *Sūrat al-Tawbah* ("Repentance"), which was revealed in the year 9 AH.

It was similar to the hypocrites' protest at the Battle of Uḥud. The enemy had attacked the Muslims in their own territory, and a third of the Muslim fighters, led by the hypocrite ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, fled from the battlefield. The sincere advice of the true Muslims was of no use for them, and they said:

لَوْ نَعْلَمُ قِتَالًا لَّاتَّبَعْنَاكُمْ

If we knew how to fight, we would most certainly follow you (3:167)!

Their retreat was the main reason why the Muslims lost the battle![257]

The Verses Revealed about the Hypocrites' Request for Leave before the Tabūk Expedition

In any case, the glorious verses of the Qur'an clearly show that it was the hypocrites, and not the believers, who asked the Prophet for leave:

لَا يَسْتَأْذِنُكَ الَّذِينَ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ أَنْ يُجَاهِدُوا بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ بِالْمُتَّقِينَ ۔ إِنَّمَا يَسْتَأْذِنُكَ الَّذِينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَارْتَابَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ فَهُمْ فِي رَيْبِهِمْ يَتَرَدَّدُونَ

Those who believe in God and the Last Day ask not leave of you that they may struggle with their possessions and their selves; God is Aware of the Godfearing. They alone ask leave of thee who believe not in God and the Last Day, and whose hearts feel doubt, so in their doubt they waver (9:44–45). And it continues as:

إِنْ تُصِبْكَ حَسَنَةٌ تَسُؤْهُمْ وَإِنْ تُصِبْكَ مُصِيبَةٌ يَقُولُوا قَدْ أَخَذْنَا أَمْرَنَا مِنْ قَبْلُ وَيَتَوَلَّوا وَهُمْ فَرِحُونَ. قُلْ لَنْ يُصِيبَنَا إِلَّا مَا كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَنَا هُوَ مَوْلَانَا وَعَلَى اللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ. قُلْ هَلْ تَرَبَّصُونَ بِنَا إِلَّا إِحْدَى الْحُسْنَيَيْنِ وَنَحْنُ نَتَرَبَّصُ بِكُمْ أَنْ يُصِيبَكُمُ اللَّهُ بِعَذَابٍ مِنْ عِنْدِهِ أَوْ بِأَيْدِينَا فَتَرَبَّصُوا إِنَّا مَعَكُمْ مُتَرَبِّصُونَ.

If good befalls you it afflicts them, and if calamity befalls you, they say: We took precaution, and they turn away well pleased. Say: Nothing befalls us save that which God has decreed for us. He is our Protector. In God let believers put their trust! Say: Can you expect for us anything but one of two good things? But we can expect for you that God will afflict you with a punishment from Himself or at our hands. Await then! Lo! We are awaiting with you (9:50–52).

[Commentary:] O, Muhammad, if blessing reaches you such as defeating the enemy, and acquiring booty, it afflicts them, but if disaster befalls you such as difficulty, hardship, tribulation, or loss of life and property, they say: "We were saving ourselves all along, clinging to the bond of security by sitting the war out." They will turn back rejoicing and go home. Say: "Nothing but what God has decreed for us will ever befall us. He is our Guardian, Master, Lord, Provider, Protector, and Decider for us and is in charge of us. The believers entrust everything to God." Say:

> Do you expect for us anything but one of two good characteristics or blessings? One is victory, defeating our enemy, and acquiring booty in this world; the other is martyrdom on God's path and eternal reward at the Resurrection on the Day of Requital! However, we expect that punishment will reach you, either from God, or at our hands via our victory and defeat of you. So expect this punishment. We expect martyrdom, Heaven, victory, and spoils and expect for you humiliation, disaster, and death at our hands and then you will go to Hell!

Wāqidī says that when the Prophet was busy preparing the army for the Battle of Tabūk, five of those hypocrites, who had built the mosque to cause harm (*masjid ḍirār*)—Muʿattab Ibn Qushayr, Thaʿlabah Ibn Ḥāṭib, Khidhām Ibn Khālid, Abū Ḥabībah Ibn al-Aʿzar, and ʿAbdullāh Ibn Nabtal Ibn Ḥārith—went to the Prophet and said: "O God's Messenger, we are messengers from those of our companions who have stayed behind! We have built a mosque for the poor and needy, on rainy nights and wintry nights when they cannot go to Qubā Mosque. We would like you to visit us there, and lead us in prayer." Meanwhile God's Messenger was preparing for Tabūk, so he answered them: "I am about to travel, and I am busy.

When I return, God willing, I will come to you and lead you in prayer there."

However, on his return from Tabūk, when he stopped at Dhī Awān,[258] he ordered its demolition.[259]

When God's Messenger left Medina, and the army set up camp in Jurf and Widāᶜ Valley, he appointed Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib (God's, His favored angels', and His envoy prophets' blessings be upon him) as deputy over all the people of Medina and similarly over all of God's Messenger's family and dependants, and to manage the nation's affairs.

When the hypocrites in Medina saw Ali in the Prophet's place, they immediately began spreading rumors that the Prophet had not taken him with him only because he found him annoying!

The Prophet's Words to Imam Ali—the Status Hadith

Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm says:

> When the cavalry assembled for God's Messenger, he set off from Widāᶜ Valley, leaving the Master of the Faithful in charge of Medina. The hypocrites then spread false rumors about Ali, saying: "He only left him behind because he considers him to be an evil omen."
>
> That reached the Master of the Faithful, Ali, so he picked up his sword and armor and caught up with God's Messenger at Jurf. There, God's Messenger said to him:
>
> يا عَلِيُّ أَلَمْ أَخْلُفْكَ عَلَى الْمَدِينَةِ؟! قَالَ: نَعَمْ وَلَكِنَّ الْمُنَافِقِينَ زَعَمُوا أَنَّكَ خَلَّفْتَنِي تَشَاؤُماً بِي! قَالَ: كَذِبَ الْمُنَافِقُونَ يا عَلِيُّ! أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ أَخِي وَأَنَا أَخُوكَ وَأَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي؟! وَإِنْ كَانَ بَعْدِي نَبِيٌّ لَقُلْتُ أَنْتَ أَنْتَ! وَأَنْتَ خَلِيفَتِي فِي أُمَّتِي؛ وَأَنْتَ وَزِيرِي وَأَخِي فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ!
>
> "O Ali! Did I not leave you in charge of Medina?" Ali answered: "Yes, but the hypocrites have claimed that you only left me behind because you consider me to be an evil omen!"
>
> [The Prophet] said: "O Ali! The hypocrites are lying. Are you not content to be my brother, and for me to be your brother? You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me! If there were a prophet after me, I would say: 'You! You! You are my successor among my nation! And you are my aide and brother both in this world and the Hereafter!'"

So the Master of the Faithful returned to Medina.[260]

A great number of Shi'a and Sunni historians and narrators relate this hadith in their books, saying it was when the Prophet set off on the Tabūk expedition.[261]

I'lām al-Warā says that the whole Islamic nation has accepted this hadith. Both Shi'a and those who openly show hostility to the Prophet's Household (Nāṣibī) narrate it; no matter what differences they have in their ideas, the entire nation agrees on it.[262]

When the army was mobilized, and they were going to cover that long distance in those dry deserts in that hot season, some of the hypocrites offered financial assistance to the Muslim army. They did so so that people would see them and news of their contribution would reach God's Messenger; thus they still did not want to move, saving themselves from being killed. These verses were revealed about them:

قُلْ أَنفِقُوا طَوْعًا أَوْ كَرْهًا لَّن يُتَقَبَّلَ مِنكُمْ إِنَّكُمْ كُنتُمْ قَوْمًا فَاسِقِينَ وَمَا مَنَعَهُمْ أَن تُقْبَلَ مِنْهُمْ نَفَقَاتُهُمْ إِلَّا أَنَّهُمْ كَفَرُوا بِاللَّهِ وَبِرَسُولِهِ وَلَا يَأْتُونَ الصَّلَاةَ إِلَّا وَهُمْ كُسَالَىٰ وَلَا يُنفِقُونَ إِلَّا وَهُمْ كَارِهُونَ فَلَا تُعْجِبْكَ أَمْوَالُهُمْ وَلَا أَوْلَادُهُمْ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُعَذِّبَهُم بِهَا فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَتَزْهَقَ أَنفُسُهُمْ وَهُمْ كَافِرُونَ.

Say: Pay (your contribution), willingly or unwillingly, it will not be accepted from you. Lo! You were ever wicked people. And nothing prevents their contributions from being accepted from them save that they have disbelieved in God and in His messenger, and they come not to worship save as idlers, and pay not (their contribution) save reluctantly. So let not their riches nor their children please you. God thereby intends but to punish them in the life of the world and that their souls shall pass away while they are disbelievers (9:53–55).[263]

وَيَحْلِفُونَ بِاللَّهِ إِنَّهُمْ لَمِنكُمْ وَمَا هُم مِّنكُمْ وَلَٰكِنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ يَفْرَقُونَ. لَوْ يَجِدُونَ مَلْجَأً أَوْ مَغَارَاتٍ أَوْ مُدَّخَلًا لَّوَلَّوْا إِلَيْهِ وَهُمْ يَجْمَحُونَ.

And they swear by God that they are of you, but they are not of you; they are a people who are afraid [of you and the greatness of Islam]. If they could find a refuge or caves, or an entrance they would surely resort to it as runaways (9:56–57).

وَإِذَا أُنزِلَتْ سُورَةٌ أَنْ آمِنُوا بِاللَّهِ وَجَاهِدُوا مَعَ رَسُولِهِ اسْتَأْذَنَكَ أُولُو الطَّوْلِ مِنْهُمْ وَقَالُوا ذَرْنَا نَكُن مَّعَ الْقَاعِدِينَ. رَضُوا بِأَن يَكُونُوا مَعَ الْخَوَالِفِ وَطُبِعَ عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِهِمْ فَهُمْ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ.

And when a chapter is revealed [saying], "Believe in God and fight alongside His Messenger," the influential ones among them ask you for leave and say, "Let us be with those who sit [at home]." They were content to stay with those who remained behind; their hearts are sealed, so they do not understand (9:86–87).

Those Who Requested Leave, Those Who Made Excuses, and Those Who Were Genuinely Excused from the Battle of Tabūk

The hypocrites, who asked the Prophet for leave, were ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy Ibn Salūl, Jadd Ibn Qays, their companions, and their peers.

Wāqidī says: "Some of the hypocrites went to God's Messenger, to request leave without having any excuse (handicap, poverty, or destitution), and he granted them leave. There were a little over eighty hypocrites who requested leave.[264]

لَٰكِنِ الرَّسُولُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مَعَهُ جَاهَدُوا بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنفُسِهِمْ وَأُولَٰئِكَ لَهُمُ الْخَيْرَاتُ وَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ. أَعَدَّ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِن تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا ذَٰلِكَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيمُ.

But the messenger and those who believe with him strive with their wealth and their lives. Such are they for whom are the good things. Such are they who are the successful. God has prepared for them Gardens underneath which rivers flow, wherein they will abide. That is the supreme triumph (9:88–89).

Wāqidī says: "Some of the Bedouin who were just making excuses went to [the Prophet] to do so. But Honorable and Exalted God did not accept their excuses. They were a group of eighty-two from Banī Ghifār, including Khufāf Ibn Īmāʾ Ibn Raḥḍah.[265]

وَجَاءَ الْمُعَذِّرُونَ مِنَ الْأَعْرَابِ لِيُؤْذَنَ لَهُمْ وَقَعَدَ الَّذِينَ كَذَبُوا اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ سَيُصِيبُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ.

And those among the Bedouin who had an excuse came to be granted leave. And those who lied to God and His Messenger sat at home. A painful punishment will fall on those of them who disbelieve (9:90).

Shaykh Ṭabrisī says by way of commentary on this noble verse:

> [The word *muᶜadhdhirūn*] means the *muᶜtadhirūn* who either had an excuse or did not. The *tāʾ* is assimilated into the *dhāl* because the points from which the two letters are articulated are close to each other. Alternatively it means a shirker, i.e. someone pretending to you he has a lawful excuse without actually having a lawful excuse. The verse has three possible meanings:

i) Shirkers who make excuses without actually having any lawful excuse. Most commentators interpret it this way.

ii) Those who asked to be excused and had a genuine excuse, i.e. some of Banī Ghifār. This is according to Ibn ʿAbbās. Proof for this is [God's] words:

وَقَعَدَ الَّذِينَ كَذَبُوا اللهَ وَرَسُولَهُ

And those who lied to God and His Messenger sat at home. The liars have been joined to them with a conjunction, proving that the first group had a genuine excuse.[266]

iii) Those who physically feigned incapacity [or lack of means].[267]

But our Master, ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī, considers the second one to be correct and says:

Those...who had an excuse refers to those who genuinely had an excuse, e.g. those who had no funds or weapon, as proven by God's words

وَقَعَدَ الَّذِينَ كَذَبُوا

And those who lied...sat at home. There is semantic differentiation between the two—to expose the reprehensibility and vileness of the hypocrites, the rottenness of their hearts, and the wretchedness of their souls, because the duty to engage in religious *jihād*, and help God and His Messenger, stirred up the Bedouins who had a genuine excuse and went to the Prophet to present it, but had no effect on those liars![268]

Therefore, to make it clear that those who lacked the means, or were weak or sick, but still had faith, were not committing a sin, this verse was revealed:

لَيْسَ عَلَى الضُّعَفَاءِ وَلَا عَلَى الْمَرْضَى وَلَا عَلَى الَّذِينَ لَا يَجِدُونَ مَا يُنفِقُونَ حَرَجٌ
إِذَا نَصَحُوا لِلَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ مَا عَلَى الْمُحْسِنِينَ مِن سَبِيلٍ وَاللَّهُ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ ۔ وَلَا عَلَى الَّذِينَ إِذَا مَا أَتَوْكَ لِتَحْمِلَهُمْ
قُلْتَ لَا أَجِدُ مَا أَحْمِلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ تَوَلَّوا وَّأَعْيُنُهُمْ تَفِيضُ مِنَ الدَّمْعِ حَزَنًا أَلَّا يَجِدُوا مَا يُنفِقُونَ

Not unto the weak nor unto the sick nor unto those who can find naught to spend is any fault [to be imputed] if they are true to God and His Messenger. Not unto the good is there any road [of blame]. God is Forgiving, Merciful. Nor unto those [to] whom, when they came to you to be provided with mounts, you said: I can find no mounts for you. They turned back with eyes flowing with tears, for sorrow that they could not find the means to spend (9:91–92).

Those Who Wept Because They Did Not Have the Means to Join the Expedition

History books and exegeses say that there were seven people who cried because they did not have the means to join the military expedition. They came to be called the *bakkāʾūn* (profuse weepers); however, there is much disagreement over what their names were.[269]

In his exegesis, Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm says:

> The profuse weepers went to God's Messenger. There were seven of them:
> i) Sālim Ibn ʿUmayr from Banī ʿAmr Ibn ʿAwf, who [everyone] unanimously agrees was a Badr veteran;
> ii) Haramī Ibn ʿUmayr from Banī Wāqif;
> iii) ʿAliyyah Ibn Yazīd from Banī Jāriyah, who had given away all his property (*ʿarḍihi*). That is because God's Messenger ordered charitable contributions, and the people began bringing them. ʿAliyyah came and said: "O God's Messenger, by God I have nothing to give as charity; but from now on, everything that belongs to me is public property." So God's Messenger said to him: "God has accepted your donation!";
> iv) Abū Laylā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Kaʿb from Banī Māzin;
> v) ʿAmr Ibn ʿAtamah from Banī Salimah;
> vi) Salimah Ibn Ṣakhar from Banī Zurayq; and
> vii) ʿIrbāḍ Ibn Sārayah Sulamī from Banī Sulaym.
> They went, weeping, to God's Messenger and said: "We do not have the strength to march forth with you,'" so God revealed this verse.[270]

And after mentioning the names of the weepers, Wāqidī says:

> When the weepers left God's Messenger's presence, Yāmīn Ibn ʿUmayr met Abū Laylā Māzinī and ʿAbd al-Lahab Ibn Muqaffal al-Muzanī, who were crying, so he asked them: "What is making you cry?"
>
> They replied: "We went to God's Messenger to provide us with mounts; however, we could not find anything in his possession for him to mount us on, and we do not have anything to spend on going out. We would hate to miss a battle alongside God's Messenger."
>
> Yāmīn Ibn ʿUmayr gave them a water-carrying camel of his, and they set off. He also provided each of them with two *ṣāʿs*[271] of dates. So they set out with God's Messenger. ʿAbbās Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib provided two of them with a mount, and Othman provided three of them with a mount, so in the end, all seven of them set out with God's Messenger.[272]

The Verses That Denote the Need to Be Excessively Generous to the Prophet

The following two verses give us the finest examples of sacrifice on God's Path and self-annihilation in the prophethood's and Guardianship's bidding, encouraging the people to engage in *jihād*, put others first, sacrifice themselves on God's Messenger's path, bear hardships, difficulties, hunger, and thirst, enter the unbelievers' land, and financially contribute either a little or a lot on God's Path:

مَا كَانَ لِأَهْلِ الْمَدِينَةِ وَمَنْ حَوْلَهُمْ مِنَ الْأَعْرَابِ أَنْ يَتَخَلَّفُوا عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ وَلَا يَرْغَبُوا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ عَنْ نَفْسِهِ ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ لَا يُصِيبُهُمْ ظَمَأٌ وَلَا نَصَبٌ وَلَا مَخْمَصَةٌ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَلَا يَطَئُونَ مَوْطِئًا يَغِيظُ الْكُفَّارَ وَلَا يَنَالُونَ مِنْ عَدُوٍّ نَيْلًا إِلَّا كُتِبَ لَهُمْ بِهِ عَمَلٌ صَالِحٌ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُضِيعُ أَجْرَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ. وَلَا يُنْفِقُونَ نَفَقَةً صَغِيرَةً وَلَا كَبِيرَةً وَلَا يَقْطَعُونَ وَادِيًا إِلَّا كُتِبَ لَهُمْ لِيَجْزِيَهُمُ اللَّهُ أَحْسَنَ مَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ.

It is not right for the people of Medina, or the Bedouin (al-aʿrāb)[273] *who dwell around them, to refuse to follow God's Messenger, or prefer their lives to his life. That is because neither thirst, nor toil, nor hunger afflicts them in the way of God, nor take they any step that angers the disbelievers, nor gain they any gain from the enemy, without a good deed being recorded for them for it. Lo! God does not waste the reward of those who do good. Nor do they expend anything, small or great, nor do they cross a valley, without it being recorded for them, so that God may reward them for the best of what they used to do* (9:120–21).

Finally, the army was prepared and set out for Tabūk: It included thirty thousand infantry, twelve thousand cavalry, and fifteen thousand camelry.[274] It took them twenty days to reach that land, and God's Messenger was there for a little over ten days[275] and twenty days more on the way back [to Medina].

The Prophet's guide to Tabūk was ʿAlqamah Ibn Faghwāʾ Khuzāʿī. The Holiness set out until he reached Dhī Khashab, and as it was too hot, he rested during the days and marched by night. And from the first day of his stay in Dhī Khashab, he prayed his noon prayers and late afternoon prayers together, delaying the noon prayer until it was a bit cooler, and bringing forward the late afternoon prayer. It was his routine until he returned from Tabūk to Medina.[276]

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī Fell Behind but Eventually Caught Up with the Prophet on Foot

Three days after the Prophet left for Tabūk, Abū Dharr Ghifārī, Jundub Ibn Junādah, followed him. It was because his camel was emaciated, so during those days he was fattening it up with food and fodder. Then he rode it some distance, but halfway there the camel could not carry on. So Abū Dharr left it behind, carrying his own clothing over his shoulder and his baggage over his back, and he traveled alone to catch up with the Prophet.

By late morning, the Muslims noticed that a man was coming towards them. God's Messenger said: "It must be Abū Dharr." Then all of them said: "Yes, it is Abū Dharr, may God have mercy on him!"

God's Messenger stated: "Give him some water to drink, because he is thirsty!" So they gave him water. Abū Dharr duly went to God's Messenger with an *idāwah*[277] of water.

God's Messenger asked: "O Abū Dharr, you have water with you but you're thirsty?" Abū Dharr replied: "Yes, O God's Messenger. May my mother and father be made your sacrifice, I ended up at a rock on which there was some rainwater. I tasted it and lo! It was sweet and cool, so I said, I will not drink it until my beloved, God's Messenger, drinks it!"

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ: رَحِمَكَ اللهُ! تَعِيشُ وَحْدَكَ، وَتَمُوتُ وَحْدَكَ وَتُبْعَثُ وَحْدَكَ، وَتَدْخُلُ الْجَنَّةَ وَحْدَكَ! يَسْعَدُ بِكَ قَوْمٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْعِرَاقِ يَتَوَلَّوْنَ غُسْلَكَ وَتَجْهِيزَكَ وَدَفْنَكَ![278]

So God's Messenger told him: "May God have mercy on you! You will live alone, die alone, be resurrected alone, and enter Heaven alone! Some people from Iraq will be privileged to wash, prepare, and bury you!"

Abū Dharr Dies Alone and Far from Home in Rabadhah, After Othman Exiles Him There

And when Othman exiled him to Rabadhah,[279] his son, Dharr, passed away. After burying him, Abū Dharr stood up by his grave and said:

رَحِمَكَ اللهُ يَا ذَرُّ! لَقَدْ كُنْتَ كَرِيمَ الْخُلُقِ بَارًّا بِالْوَالِدَيْنِ! وَمَا عَلَيَّ فِي مَوْتِكَ مِنْ غَضَاضَةٍ! وَمَالِي إِلَى غَيْرِ اللهِ مِنْ حَاجَةٍ! وَقَدْ شَغَلَنِي الاهْتِمَامُ لَكَ عَنِ الاغْتِمَامِ بِكَ! لَوْلَا هَوْلُ الْمُطَّلَعِ لَاحْبَبْتُ أَنْ أَكُونَ مَكَانَكَ! فَلَيْتَ شِعْرِي مَا قَالُوا لَكَ؟ وَمَا قُلْتَ لَهُمْ؟

ثُمَّ قَالَ: اَللّٰهُمَّ فَرَضْتَ لَكَ عَلَيْهِ حَقًّا وَفَرَضْتَ لِي عَلَيْهِ حُقُوقًا فَإِنِّي قَدْ وَهَبْتُ لَهُ مَا فَرَضْتَ لِي عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الْحُقُوقِ فَهَبْ لَهُ مَا فَرَضْتَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ حُقُوقِكَ أَوْلَى بِالْحَقِّ وَالْكَرَمِ مِنِّي!

O Dharr! May God have mercy upon you; you had noble ethics [and you were] good to your parents. I have no objection to your death, and I need no one else but God. Worry for you has distracted me from sorrow for you! If it were not for the horror of that which is looked upon [of hardships such as interrogation by Munkar and Nakīr, the pressure and solitude of the grave and so on] I would wish to be in your place! And I wish I knew what they have told you there, and what your answer was to them!

Then he said: "O God! You imposed upon him a duty to You and imposed upon him duties to me too. O God! Now, I am giving away to him whatever due You imposed upon him to me, so bestow upon him whatever due You imposed upon him to You! For You are more entitled and more generous than I am."

Abū Dharr had a few herds [of sheep] for him and his dependants to live off, but [the herds] contracted a serious illness called *nuqār*[280] and all died. Abū Dharr and his daughter were afflicted with poverty, hardship, and severe hunger, and his family died!

His daughter said: "O dearest father, we are starving; we have not eaten anything for three successive days!"

Abū Dharr said: "My daughter, let's go to the desert; perhaps we can find some *qatt*[281] there." [His daughter said:] "We did so, but we found nothing there."

The girl says:

> My father piled up some sand and then rested his head on it, and I noticed his eyes had changed. So I wept and said: "O father, what will I do with you? I am all alone."
>
> My father answered:
>
> > Daughter! Fear not, for when I die, people from Iraq will take over charge of my burial from you. My beloved, God's Messenger told me at the Battle of Tabūk; he said: "O Abū Dharr! You will live alone, die alone, be resurrected alone, and enter Heaven alone! Then some men from Iraq will have the privilege of taking charge of washing you, preparing you, and burying you!" So, when I die, spread the blanket over my face, and then sit on the road to Iraq; thereafter, when the caravan approaches, stand up before them and

say: "This is Abū Dharr, God's Messenger's companion, who has passed away."

The narrator says:

A group of people from Rabadhah came to Abū Dharr asking: "O Abū Dharr, what are you complaining about?"

Abū Dharr replied: "My sins!" They asked: "What do you desire?" He replied: "The mercy of my Lord!" They asked: "Would you like a physician?" He replied: "It was the Physician who has made me sick!"

[Later,] his daughter revealed: "When my father saw death, I heard him say: 'Welcome to a friend who has come [when I] need [him]! He who does not repent will not succeed. O God; throttle me to death! For I swear by Your rightfulness that I would love to meet You!'"

His daughter added:

When my father died, I spread the blanket over his face, and then sat on the road to Iraq. A group [of people] approached me and I told them: "O ye Muslims! This is Abū Dharr, God's Messenger's companion, who has just passed away."

They dismounted and proceeded on foot, while crying; then they came and washed him, shrouded him, and buried him. Mālik Ashtar Nakhaʿī was among them. It has been narrated that Ashtar said: "I shrouded him in a piece of clothing I had with me that cost four thousand dirhams."[282]

His daughter says:

I used to pray and fast as he did. One night, while I was sleeping by his graveside, I heard him in my sleep, reciting [long passages from] the Qurʾan in his supererogatory night prayers (*yatahajjad bi al-Qurʾān*), just as he would recite within his lifetime.[283] So I asked him: "O dearest father, what did your Lord do with you?"

قَالَ: يَا بُنَيَّةُ! قَدِمْتُ عَلَى رَبٍّ كَرِيمٍ، رَضِيَ عَنِّي وَرَضِيتُ عَنْهُ وَأَكْرَمَنِي وَحَبَانِي فَاعْمَلِي وَلَا تُغَرِّي.[284]

My father said: "O daughter! I came to a Generous Lord. He was pleased with me, and I was pleased with Him. God respected me and held me dear! He honored me and gave me awards. So take note, but do not be conceited!"

A Biographical Note on Abū Dharr Ghifārī

Great Sunni and Shi'a scholars tell the story of Abū Dharr's meeting with the Prophet at the Battle of Tabūk, and His Holiness's prophecy of his death alone and subsequent preparation and shrouding by a group of people from Iraq.[285]

Abū Dharr Ghifārī was one of the greatest companions of the Prophet, and it is said that in terms of understanding (*fiqh*) and merit, he, Salmān, and Miqdād Ibn Aswad Kindī were peerless.[286]

The Story of Abū Khaythamah, and How He Caught Up with the Prophet

Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm says after Exalted God's words *And if they had wished to go forth they would assuredly have made ready some equipment* (9:46): "Some other people of conviction and vision with whom doubt or suspicion had not caught up also lagged behind the Prophet. However, they said: 'We will catch up with God's Messenger!' One of them was Abū Khaythamah." He then tells his story.[287] However, as Wāqidī tells it more fully, we shall quote him.

> Abū Khaythamah also lagged behind God's Messenger; no one accused him of not being a Muslim, and he was not held in low esteem. In the beginning, he too set out with [the Prophet], but after ten days being with him, all of a sudden he turned back. It was a hot day; he went to his two wives, seeing that they were both sitting in their *'arīshes* (small hut-like rooms made out of branches and leaves of trees to keep the extreme heat away). They had each splashed their *'arīshes*, cooled some water, and prepared some food for him in there!
>
> But as [Abū Khaythamah] reached them, he stood over the *'arīshes* and said:
>
> سُبْحَانَ اللهِ! رَسُولُ اللهِ قَدْ غُفِرَ لَهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِهِ وَمَا تَأَخَّرَ فِي الضُّحِّ[288] وَالرِّيحِ وَالْحَرِّ يَحْمِلُ سِلَاحَهُ عَلَى عُنُقِهِ وَأَبُو خَيْثَمَةَ فِي ظِلَالٍ بَارِدٍ وَطَعَامٍ مُهَيَّأٍ وَامْرَأَتَيْنِ حَسْنَاوَيْنِ مُقِيمٌ فِي مَالِهِ! مَا هَذَا بِالنَّصَفِ.
>
> "God is clear (*subḥānallāh*)! All God's Messenger's early and recent 'sins' have been forgiven in the sunlight when it seized the land, the wind and the heat, carrying his weapon round his neck; but Abū Khaythamah is in a cool shade, food prepared and two beautiful young women residing in his property! This is not fair!"
>
> And then he said: "By God, I will not enter either of your *'arīshes* until I set out and join God's Messenger."

He made his water-carrying camel kneel down, put the saddle on its back, took some provisions with him, and set out. No matter how hard his wives tried to speak with him, he would not speak to them. He continued on his way until he reached ʿUmayr Ibn Wahab Jumaḥī in Wādī al-Qurā. From there on, he accompanied him and they traveled together until they approached Tabūk. There, Abū Khaythamah said: "O ʿUmayr, I have committed sins, but you are free from sins. I hope you wouldn't mind falling behind me and letting me go to God's Messenger before you to apologize and repent to him."

ʿUmayr did so and Abū Khaythamah journeyed on until he approached God's Messenger, who was resting in Tabūk. The people said: "This is a rider on the route."

God's Messenger stated: "It must be Abū Khaythamah." Thereafter, the people said: "God's Messenger, it is Abū Khaythamah."

Then, when Abū Khaythamah made his camel kneel down, he approached and greeted the Prophet. The Prophet told him: "*Awlā lak*,[289] O Abū Khaythamah" ("Woe on you, O Abū Khaythamah, how close you came to evil!").

Then, Abū Khaythamah told God's Messenger the story, and God's Messenger asked for blessing for him and prayed for him.[290]

The Rumors Spread by the Hypocrites in the Prophet's Army, and the Revelation of Verses

Historians say that a group of hypocrites was also with the Prophet on the Tabūk expedition. Among them were Wadīʿah Ibn Thābit, Julās Ibn Suwayd Ibn al-Ṣāmit, Makhshī Ibn Ḥumayyir, and Thaʿlabah Ibn Ḥāṭib. While they were traveling, Thaʿlabah said: "Do you think fighting the Byzantines (Banī al-Aṣfar) will be like fighting the others? By God, it is as if I can see you on the morrow bound in ropes!" He kept saying such things to make God's Messenger tremble and to frighten the Muslims [from fighting].

After him, Wadīʿah said: "What is the reason why all our Qurʾanic reciters have the fullest stomachs and the most mendacious tongues, and are the most cowardly when encountering [the enemy]?!"

And next to him, Julās said: "[Look!] These are our masters, nobles, and privileged ones! By God, if Muhammad is telling the truth, then we are worse than donkeys! By God, I wish could sentence every one of us to be given a hundred lashes and we could escape from the

Qur'an being revealed about us as you say!" So God's Messenger told ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir: "Stop these people because they will burn [in Hell], and ask them what they said, but if they deny, then say: 'You said x and y.'"

So ʿAmmār went to them, and told them. They then went to God's Messenger to apologize to him.

While the Prophet was riding his camel, Wadīʿah Ibn Thābit seized the rope binding on the Prophet's camel's saddle. His feet were scattering the stones, and he said: "O God's Messenger! We were just talking idly and playing!"

The Prophet did not pay any attention to them until Mighty and Sublime God revealed about them:

يَحْذَرُ الْمُنَافِقُونَ أَنْ تُنَزَّلَ عَلَيْهِمْ سُورَةٌ تُنَبِّئُهُمْ بِمَا فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ قُلِ اسْتَهْزِئُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ مُخْرِجٌ مَا تَحْذَرُونَ ۝ وَلَئِنْ سَأَلْتَهُمْ لَيَقُولُنَّ إِنَّمَا كُنَّا نَخُوضُ وَنَلْعَبُ قُلْ أَبِاللَّهِ وَآيَاتِهِ وَرَسُولِهِ كُنْتُمْ تَسْتَهْزِئُونَ ۝ لَا تَعْتَذِرُوا قَدْ كَفَرْتُمْ بَعْدَ إِيمَانِكُمْ إِنْ نَعْفُ عَنْ طَائِفَةٍ مِنْكُمْ نُعَذِّبْ طَائِفَةً بِأَنَّهُمْ كَانُوا مُجْرِمِينَ

The hypocrites fear lest a chapter should be revealed concerning them, proclaiming what is in their hearts. Say: Mock on! Lo! God is disclosing what you fear. And if you ask them they will say: We did but talk and jest. Say: Was it at God and His revelations and His messenger that you did scoff? Make no excuse. You have disbelieved after your (confession of) belief. If We forgive a party of you, a party of you We shall punish because they have been guilty (9:64–66).

The Story of Abū Julās, the Hypocrite, and the Repentance of Makhshī Ibn Ḥumayyir

They say that ʿUmayr, who was Julās's stepson, was one of the believers in the Prophet. When Julās said: "Then we are worse than donkeys!" ʿUmayr responded to him, saying: "Then you are worse than a donkey. God's Messenger is truthful, but you are a liar!"

During the time of ignorance, Julās was owed damages by one of his people, and he needed it. Then, when the Prophet arrived in Medina, he took possession of it for him, and [Julās] became self-sufficient from it.

Julās went to the Prophet and swore that he had never said these words, some of which were unbelief, so God revealed this verse about [Julās] to His Prophet:

يَحْلِفُونَ بِاللَّهِ مَا قَالُوا وَلَقَدْ قَالُوا كَلِمَةَ الْكُفْرِ وَكَفَرُوا بَعْدَ إِسْلَامِهِمْ وَهَمُّوا بِمَا لَمْ يَنَالُوا وَمَا نَقَمُوا إِلَّا أَنْ أَغْنَاهُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ فَإِنْ يَتُوبُوا يَكُ خَيْرًا لَهُمْ وَإِنْ يَتَوَلَّوْا يُعَذِّبْهُمُ اللَّهُ عَذَابًا أَلِيمًا فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ وَمَا لَهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ مِنْ وَلِيٍّ وَلَا نَصِيرٍ

They swear by God that they said nothing (wrong), yet they did say the word of disbelief, and did disbelieve after their Surrender (to God). And they purposed that which they could not attain [conspired to kill God's Messenger or banish him from Medina or cause any kind of mischief or anarchy], *and they sought revenge only that God by His Messenger should enrich them of His bounty* [in exchange for love and true sincerity]. *If they repent it will be better for them; and if they turn away, God will afflict them with a painful punishment in the world and the Hereafter, and they have no protecting friend nor helper in the earth* (9:74).[291]

And Makhshī Ibn Ḥumayyir said: "By God, [my name] and my father's name stopped me from doing good deeds" [because his name meant "feared," and his father's name means "a donkey foal"!].

The only one who was forgiven in this verse was Makhshī—the Prophet renamed him ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, or ʿAbdullāh—then, this man asked God if he could be martyred and his grave's location be unknown.

He was indeed martyred in Yamāmah, and his remains have not been found.[292]

They say that God's Messenger had commanded every tribe of the Supporters to adopt its own banner and standard. And God's Messenger entrusted the banner of Banī Mālik Ibn Najjār to ʿUmārah Ibn Ḥazm.

Later on, when Zayd Ibn Thābit joined God's Messenger, he entrusted the banner to him. ʿUmārah asked: "O God's Messenger, perhaps you are angry with me?"

قَالَ: لَا وَاللَّهِ وَلَكِنْ قَدِّمُوا الْقُرْآنَ، وَكَانَ أَكْثَرَ أَخْذًا لِلْقُرْآنِ مِنْكَ، وَالْقُرْآنُ يُقَدَّمُ وَإِنْ كَانَ عَبْدًا مُجَدَّعًا.[293]

[The Prophet] said: "No, by God, but give priority to the Qurʾan. [Zayd Ibn Thābit] has learned more of the Qurʾan than you. The Qurʾan takes priority, even if it is a slave whose ear has been cut off!"

The Story of the Hypocrisy of Zayd Ibn Luṣayt

On the way to Tabūk, when God's Messenger woke up one morning at one of the stopping stations, his camel al-Qaṣwāʾ was lost. His

companions went out to look for it. ʿUmārah Ibn Ḥazm, a Badr and ʿAqabah veteran who was [later] martyred at the Battle of Yamāmah, was sitting by God's Messenger. In his stopping place was Zayd Ibn Luṣayt, from Banī Qaynuqāʿ. He was Jewish but had embraced Islam. However, he was a hypocrite and had the impurity and perfidy of the Jews. He helped the hypocrites. So, Zayd, who was in ʿUmārah's stopping station—ʿUmārah sitting next to the Prophet—said: "Does Muhammad not claim to be a prophet, and give you information from Heaven? But he does not know where his camel is!"

Thereafter, God's Messenger said: "Now, a hypocrite is saying: 'Muhammad claims to be a prophet, and gives you information from Heaven, but does not know where his camel is!' By God, I know nothing but what God teaches me and guides me to. The camel is in the valley on mountain trail X." He pointed them towards it. "Its rein has caught on a tree! Now, go and bring it back to me." His companions went and brought it back to him.

ʿUmārah then returned to his stopping station and said: "An amazing thing God's Messenger told us about. It is about something someone said about which God told him! He related what Zayd had said. A man who was in ʿUmārah's stopping station, but had not been in God's Messenger's presence, said: 'By God, Zayd said that, before you came to us.'"

As soon as ʿUmārah heard these words, he advanced on Zayd Ibn Luṣayt, hitting him on the neck and saying: "By God, there surely was a sly dog in my stopping station but I knew not! Get out, enemy of God!"

It is said that it was ʿUmārah's brother, ʿAmr Ibn Ḥazm, who told ʿUmārah what Zayd had said. He was in the stopping station with a band of his companions. And it was Ḥārith Ibn Khazamah Ashhalī who went and brought back the camel from the mountain trail. He found that [the camel's] rein had caught in a tree.

Zayd Ibn Luṣayt says: "It surely is as if I had not embraced Islam before today! I always had doubt in Muhammad! Now I know things clearly, and I testify that he is God's Messenger. The people claimed that he has repented. However, Khārijah Ibn Zayd Ibn Thābit denied his repentance, saying: 'He remained deceitful till he died.'"[294]

God's Messenger said: "God-willing, by tomorrow, you will reach the spring of Tabūk! But you will not reach it before the forenoon heat; none of you touch any of its water until I come." Muʿādh Ibn Jabal says: "We went to [the spring] together with [God's Messenger] but two men had beaten us to it. The spring was an example of freshness, but the water flowed slowly" (*tabiḍḍu bi shayʾ min al-*

mā'). [The Prophet] asked those two: "Have you touched any of this water?" They answered: "Yes!" The Prophet vilified them, telling them what God willed him to say; then [the companions] scooped with their hands, bit by bit, [by the Prophet's command] until they had filled up an old water skin. The Prophet then washed his face and hands in it, and then poured [the remaining water] back into [the spring]. Just then, the spring sprang a great deal of water and the people drew! Then the Prophet said to Muʿādh: "If your life is long, you will see what is here full of meadows."[295]

The Death of Dhū al-Bijādayn at Tabūk, and the Prophet at His Grave

ʿAbdullāh Dhū al-Bijādayn belonged to [the Tribe of] Muzaynah; he was an orphan, [and] had no property. His father had died without leaving him anything. However, his uncle was rich and had taken in and fostered ʿAbdullāh until he became comfortable; ʿAbdullāh then had camels, a flock, and a servant. Thereafter, when God's Messenger came to Medina, he was very eager to visit God's Messenger and then embrace Islam. However, he could not because of his uncle. Years and incidents passed by, and then God's Messenger set off back to Medina after conquering Mecca.

ʿAbdullāh then said to his uncle: "O uncle! I have been waiting for you to become a Muslim, but you do not want Muhammad! Now, let me become a Muslim."

His uncle said: "By God, if you follow Muhammad, I will not let you keep anything I have given you so far! Lo! I will strip even your clothes off you!"

[ʿAbdullāh,] whose name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā at that time, told [his uncle]: "I swear by God that I am Muslim; I follow Muhammad and forsake stone and idol worship. Now, take back everything in my possession!"

His uncle took back everything he had given to ʿAbdullāh; he even stripped him of his loincloth! So ʿAbdullāh went to his mother and she cut him off two lined wraps (*bijāds*). ʿAbdullāh wore one as a loincloth, and the other as a mantle. He then set off for Medina. He was at Wariqān (a mountain on the outskirts of Medina).

ʿAbdullāh lay on his side in the mosque until the small hours. God's Messenger then prayed the dawn [prayer]. God's Messenger would scrutinize people when they dispersed after praying. He looked at [ʿAbdullāh] but did not know him.

So he asked him: "Who are you?" He told him his lineage, [and said his name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā]. The Prophet then stated: "You are ʿAbdullāh Dhū al-Bijādayn" (dressed in two lined wraps)! And then the Holiness said: "Lodge close to me!" [The Prophet] then made him one of his guests and taught him the Qurʾan until he knew much Qurʾan.

[Dhū al-Bijādayn] was a man with a loud voice. He would remain in the [Prophet's] Mosque, reciting the Qurʾan in his loud voice.

So Omar said: "O God's Messenger, do you not hear this Bedouin raises his voice so much [when reciting] the Qurʾan that it stops other people from reciting?!" The Prophet said: "O Omar, leave him alone! For he has left his home migrating to God and His Messenger!"

When the people were equipping themselves for Tabūk, he went to the Prophet and said: "O God's Messenger, pray to God for me to be martyred."

The Holiness stated: "Fetch me inner bark (*liḥā'*) of a gum acacia."[296] He brought bark of a gum acacia tree; the Prophet tied it around his arm while saying: "O God, I ban the unbelievers [from shedding] this man's blood!" And he said: "O God's Messenger, I did not mean that!"

The Prophet said: "O Dhū al-Bijādayn! If you leave your home to fight on God's path, and fever takes hold of you and kills you, you will [still] be a martyr! [Even if] your mount throws you, you will [still] be a martyr! Do not worry how it happens!"

When they stopped in Tabūk, and stayed there for a few days, Dhū al-Bijādayn passed away.

Bilāl Ibn Ḥārith would say: "I attended God's Messenger, and with his caller to prayer, Bilāl, was a firebrand. He was standing by the grave, holding it. Lo, God's Messenger was in the grave, and lo, Omar and Abū Bakr lowered [Dhū al-Bijādayn] down to the Prophet, and the Prophet said: "Hand me your brother!"

When God's Messenger laid him in the grave, he said: "O God! I have been satisfied with this man, so be pleased with him [too]!"

And ʿAbdullāh Ibn Masʿūd says: "I wish I were the occupant of this grave!"[297]

God's Messenger was in Tabūk for twenty nights, praying abridged prayers; at that time Heraclius was in Homs.[298]

A man from [the tribe of] Saʿd Ibn Hudhaym says:

> I went to see God's Messenger when he was sitting in Tabūk, among a group of his companions, he being the seventh. I stopped and greeted him.

[His Holiness] said: "Sit down!" I said: "I bear witness that there is no god but God, and that you are God's Messenger." [His Holiness] stated: "Your face has succeeded!"[299] Then, he said: "O Bilāl, feed us." Bilāl laid a leather spread (*naṭiʿ*), and began serving him from a *ḥamīt*,[300] taking date, oil, and dried whey paste out from it with his hand. God's Messenger then told us to eat our fill! I then said: "If it were I, I would eat this alone!"

God's Messenger stated: "An unbeliever eats food with seven intestines (*imʿāʾ*),[301] but a believer eats with [just] one intestine." The next day, I again went back to [His Holiness] for breakfast. I wanted to test and increase my conviction in Islam. This time, there were ten people around [His Holiness]. He commanded Bilāl to prepare a meal for breakfast. He said: "Fetch! Feed us, Bilāl!" So Bilāl began serving dates from the leather bag and spreading them out. God's Messenger told him: "Dish, and do not be afraid that the Lord of the Throne will lessen our provision!" Bilāl brought the leather bag and emptied it; I roughly estimated it to be two *mudds*. The Prophet laid his hand on the dates, and then said: "Eat in the Name of God!" So I ate until I had no room, but the same number of dates remained on the spread as Bilāl had brought, as if we had not eaten a single date from there.

I [also] went back the next day, and a number had returned to stay the night, so there were ten, [eleven], or [twelve] men. God's Messenger called: "O Bilāl, get some food for us." Bilāl brought that same bag that I knew and emptied it, and God's Messenger put his hand on it, and said: "Eat in the Name of God!"

So we all ate our fill. Bilāl then collected up as many dates as he had served; he did the same thing for three days.[302]

Heraclius Dispatches a Man to Check for the Signs of Prophethood

Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor, sent a man from [the Tribe of] Ghassān to the Prophet to look at his attributes, his signs, the redness in his eyes, and at the seal of prophethood between his shoulder-blades, to see if there was the sign of prophethood, and to ask if he did not accept charity! [That man] learned things about the Prophet, and then returned to Heraclius to tell him. Thereafter, Heraclius realized that he was a true prophet of God.

Then [Heraclius] commanded his nation to believe in him. However, they all refused, so much so, that [Heraclius] feared for his empire (*mulk*). He stayed where he was, not moving and not advancing [to fight the Muslims]. Then it became clear to the Prophet that the news of Heraclius sending his army and approaching the bottom of

the Levant was misinformation. He had not come there and was not ready to attack.

God's Messenger consulted his companions over whether to advance, and Omar suggested: "If you have been commanded to proceed, then proceed." God's Messenger said: "If I had been commanded to proceed, then I would not have consulted you!"

[Omar] said: "O God's Messenger, the Byzantines have many people, but there is not a single Muslim among them. You are so close you can see [them], and your approach has frightened them. Why don't you return this year and wait and see or [until] God issues you a new command."[303]

ʿAbdullāh Ibn Omar would say: "We were with God's Messenger at Tabūk. He would get up and pray some of the night and perform much *tahajjud* of the night [wake up and go back to sleep]. He would not get up without brushing his teeth [with the *siwāk*]."

And whenever he did stand in prayer, he would perform it in the open space outside his tent. Some of the Muslim people would get up and guard him. One night, he prayed, and then when he had finished, he turned to the people around him, saying:

أُعْطِيتُ خَمْساً مَا اعْطِهُنَّ أَحَدٌ قَبْلِي: بُعِثْتُ إِلَى النَّاسِ كَافَّةً، وَإِنَّمَا كَانَ النَّبِيُّ يُبْعَثُ إِلَى قَوْمِهِ. وَجُعِلَتْ لِيَ الأَرْضُ مَسْجِداً وَطَهُوراً، أَيْنَمَا أَدْرَكَتْنِي الصَّلَوةُ تَيَمَّمْتُ وَصَلَّيْتُ، وَكَانَ مَنْ قَبْلِي يُعَظِّمُونَ ذَلِكَ، وَلَا يُصَلُّونَ إِلَّا فِي كَنَائِسِهِمْ وَالْبِيَعِ. وَأُحِلَّتْ لِيَ الْغَنَائِمُ أَكْلُهَا، وَكَانَ مَنْ قَبْلِي يُحَرِّمُونَهَا. وَالْخَامِسَةُ هِيَ مَا هِيَ؟ هِيَ مَا هِيَ؟ هِيَ مَا هِيَ؟ ثَلَاثاً.

قَالُوا: وَمَا هِيَ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ؟ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: قِيلَ لِي: سَلْ، فَكُلُّ نَبِيٍّ قَدْ سَأَلَ، فَهِيَ لَكُمْ وَلِمَنْ شَهِدَ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ.[304]

> I have been given five things that no one before me has been given: I have been sent to all the people, but every one of the [previous] prophets was only sent for his own nation. The whole of the earth has been made a place for me to prostrate on and as a purifier. Whenever it is time for me to pray, I perform dry ablution [with earth] and pray. Those who preceded me made a big deal out of it and would only pray in their churches and synagogues. Spoils of war are lawful for me to consume, whereas those who preceded me would consider it to be unlawful for the prophets. And what is the fifth one? What is the fifth one? What is the fifth one?

[He said it] three times.

They asked: "What is it, O God's Messenger?" God's Messenger answered: "I have been told: 'Ask, for every prophet has asked, but it is for you and for whoever bears witness that there is no god except God!'"

On the Tabūk expedition, there were great difficulties for the army: hunger, thirst, lack of mounts, long distance, and the extreme heat in the middle of the summer all made the expedition unique. The army was called "the army of hardship" (*jaysh al-ʿusrah*),[305] the name taken from the following verse:

قَدْ تَابَ اللهُ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ وَالْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُ فِي سَاعَةِ الْعُسْرَةِ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا كَادَ يَزِيغُ قُلُوبُ فَرِيقٍ مِنْهُمْ ثُمَّ تَابَ عَلَيْهِمْ إِنَّهُ بِهِمْ رَءُوفٌ رَحِيمٌ.

God has turned in mercy to the Prophet, and to the Migrants and the Helpers who followed him in the hour of hardship. After the hearts of a party of them had almost swerved aside, then turned He unto them in mercy. Lo! He is Full of Pity, Merciful for them (9:117).

Shaykh Ṭabrisī says:

> It was revealed about the Battle of Tabūk, and the hardship that afflicted the army such that some of them decided to return. However, God's grace stopped them. Ḥasan says:
>
> > Every ten fighters had to take it in turns to share a mount—one of them would ride it for a while, then his fellow, and so on!
>
> وَكَانَ زَادُهُمُ الشَّعِيرَ الْمُسَوَّسَ وَالتَّمْرَ الْمَدْوَدَ وَالْإِهَالَةَ السَّخِنَةَ[306]
>
> Their provision was moth-eaten barley, worm-eaten dates, and fetid oil.
>
> > And some of them would take out the small dates they had. One would put a date in his mouth, chew it until he could taste it, then pass it to his cohort to suck. He would then take a gulp of water on top of it and so on until it reached the last one. There would be nothing but the date pit left![307]

The Extraordinary Miracles Performed by the Prophet at the Battle of Tabūk

It is narrated from Abū Saʿīd Khudrī [who] said:

On his way to Tabūk, God's Messenger woke up one morning, and his army had no water. So they complained about it to [the Prophet], but he did not have any water either. ʿAbdullāh Ibn Abī Ḥadrad says:

I saw God's Messenger stand facing towards the *qiblah* [facing in the direction of the Kaʿbah] and praying. By God, at that moment, I could see no cloud in the sky. God's Messenger continued praying until I saw clouds link up from every direction. He did not move from his spot until a torrential rain poured down on us! It is as if I can still hear God's Messenger say: "God is too great [to be described]!" because of the rain. God then cleared the sky for us at once, and there were puddles of water here and there all about the surface of the land.

Everyone was given something to drink, and every last one of them quenched his thirst. I heard God's Messenger say: "I bear witness that I am God's Messenger."

I told one of the hypocrites: "Woe on you! Is there anything left after this?!" But he said: "A passing cloud!" That hypocrite was Aws Ibn Qayẓī. Alternatively, it is said that it was Zayd Ibn Luṣayt."[308]

Qatādah also said in a long hadith when he returned from Tabūk:

I had a small pyramid-shaped water skin (*idāwah*) with me with water in it, and a leather drinking vessel (*rakwah*)[309] to drink water out of. One day, God's Messenger performed ablutions for dawn prayer using the water from my *idāwah* and there was a little; he stated: "Look after what is in the water skin, and the leather vessel, for they will be important!"

God's Messenger then led us in the dawn prayer, reciting *Sūrat al-Māʾidah* (Chapter 5, "The Spread"). Then he mounted and caught up with the army at mid-day. We were with him. Men's and animals' throats were nearly cut by thirst! God's Messenger then called for the leather vessel, and emptied what was in the leather water skin into it. He then put his fingers on it, and water gushed out from between his fingers. All the people approached and hydrated. The water flowed until they had satisfied their thirst and watered their horses and [other] mounts. There were twelve thousand camels in that army, and it is narrated in the alternative that there were fifteen thousand camels, thirty thousand people, and ten thousand horses! This is why the Prophet had said to Abū Qatādah: "Look after what is in the water skin and the leather vessel, for they will be important!"[310]

And Ibn Abī Sabrah has narrated from Mūsā Ibn Saʿīd, from ʿIrbāḍ Ibn Sāriyah, who said: "I was a doorman for God's Messenger both when he was in residence and traveling"; after lengthy explanation of [the Prophet's] miracles, he says:

One night, we were around God's Messenger's tent; it was the Prophet's custom to pray the supererogatory night prayer, so that night, too, he stood praying. Then, when dawn came, he performed two dawn *rakʿahs*, and Bilāl called for prayer and recited the *iqāmah*. God's Messenger then led the people in prayer. He then went away to the open area around his tent and sat down. We sat around him. There were ten of us with the poor who were with him.

First, [the Prophet] asked us: "Do you have any breakfast?"

ʿIrbāḍ says:

I began saying to myself: "What breakfast?" Thereafter, the Prophet commanded Bilāl to bring some dates. He then put his hand on the dates in the bowl, and said: "Eat in the Name of God!" So we ate, and by Him Who sent him with the truth, we all satisfied our hunger, even though there were ten of us. They then all satisifiedly lifted their hands away from the dates and lo! The dates were just as they were!

God's Messenger said:

لَوْلَا أَنِّي أَسْتَحْيِي مِنْ رَبِّي لَأَكَلْنَا مِنْ هَذَا التَّمْرِ حَتَّى نَرِدَ الْمَدِينَةَ عَنْ آخِرِنَا.

"If I were not shy in front of my Lord, we would every last one of us eat of these dates until we reach Medina."

At that moment a boy came to us from the town, and the Prophet took all the dates and gave them to him. The boy turned away, chewing them.

Omar's Words to the Prophet: "Do Not Do That!"

Then, when the Prophet decided to return to Medina, the people with him were starving. It was an acute state, and the people went to the Prophet asking what to do. Some of them asked the permission of the Prophet to let them slaughter their camels for food; the Prophet let them do what they wanted.

Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb noticed that they were busy slaughtering their camels, so he commanded them not to do so; then he entered the Prophet's tent and asked: "Have you permitted the people to slaughter their camels and eat them?"

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم شَكَوْا إِلَيَّ مَا بَلَغَ مِنْهُمُ الْجُوعُ فَأَذِنْتُ لَهُمْ، يَنْحَرُ الرُّفْقَةُ الْبَعِيرَ وَالْبَعِيرَيْنِ وَيَتَعَاقَبُونَ فِيمَا فَضَلَ مِنْ ظَهْرِهِمْ وَهُمْ قَافِلُونَ إِلَى أَهْلِيهِمْ.

The Prophet said: "Because of their severe hunger they came to me to complain about what they should do, so I permitted every tribe of

them to kill one or two camels and take it in turns on whatever load-bearing camels they had left, on the way back home to their families."

قَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، لَا تَفْعَلْ، فَإِنْ يَكُنْ لِلنَّاسِ فَضْلٌ مِنْ ظَهْرِهِمْ يَكُنْ خَيْراً، فَالظَّهْرُ الْيَوْمَ رِقَاقٌ.

So [Omar] said: "O God's Messenger, do not do so! If the people have camels left, it is better, because these camels are too lean today.[311] Rather call for whatever provisions they have left, collect them together, and pray to God to bless them as you did when we were returning from Ḥudaybiyyah, when we were quite abject and hungry, and God will answer your [prayer]!"

The Prophet's Miracle Increasing the Provisions, and the Number of the Men in the Army

Thereafter, God's Messenger's herald announced: "Whoever has any provisions left should bring it." Then God's Messenger ordered that the leather spreads be laid out, and the people began bringing their leftover food and putting it on the tablecloths. One man would bring an armful (*mudd*) of flour, parched barley meal, and dates, and the next one would bring a handful of flour, parched barley meal, dates, and bread crusts. It was all put into separate groups [of like items], but it was still very little. All the flour, parched barley meal, and dates they had brought was approximately three *farqs*.[312] The Prophet then stood up, performed ablution, prayed two rakʿahs, and then prayed to God to bless [their food].

Four of the Prophet's companions, Abū Hurayrah, Abū Ḥumayd Sāʿidī, Abū Zurʿah Juhanī (Maʿbad Ibn Khālid), and Sahl Ibn Saʿd al-Sāʿidī all narrate the same hadith. They say: "God's Messenger then went away, and his herald announced: 'Come and eat. Take as much as you need!'"

The people approached, each with a vessel in his hand, filling it. One of them said: "I only dished up a crust of bread and a handful of dates, but I saw the spreads overflowing." "I brought two bags and filled one of them with parched barley meal and the other with bread, but I gathered up in my cloak enough flour to get me back to Medina!" The people all came to collect provisions until every last one of them had done so. Eventually the spreads were gathered up, and what was left on them was dispersed. God's Messenger then said while standing:

اشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ، وَأَنِّي عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا يَقُولَهَا أَحَدٌ مِنْ حَقِيقَةِ قَلْبِهِ إِلَّا وَقَاهُ اللهُ حَرَّ النَّارِ.[313]

"I bear witness that there is no god but God, and that I am His servant and Messenger; and I bear witness that no one will pronounce it true-heartedly, without God protecting him from the heat of the hellfire!"

In the light of this hadith, we have a theological discussion for Omar! When those people came to ask the Prophet for permission to slaughter their camels to appease their hunger, and the Prophet granted them permission, what right did you have to forbid them, Omar?! Was your prohibition not a challenge to the Prophet's grant of permission? Did your prohibition leave any value to the Prophet's grant?! Was your commandment based on public interest considerations on the basis of your own personal judgment superior to the Prophet's commandment based on the public interest considerations that he knew about?

Secondly, you go to the Prophet's tent and say:

لَا تَفْعَلْ

"Do not do so!" These words have the flavor of a commandment, especially after the Prophet's grant and after the people had already begun slaughtering their camels.[314]

And thirdly, your reason for not slaughtering them is that the camels are quite young and lean now, so the people will not get much meat off them. They must be given a chance to grow up to get more meat off them.

This reason is also too strange, because the value of anything becomes apparent when it is most needed. 1.5 kg (1 *mann*) of camel meat when one is starving is more valuable than 300 kg when one is affluent and comfortable. So what is wrong with every caravan slaughtering one or two camels to satisfy everyone's hunger?!

And fourthly, if you concede that the Prophet's prayers are answered and have seen him perform miracles with permission, like the example you cited—on the return from the Battle of Ḥudaybiyyah, which you witnessed with your own eyes—it was the Prophet himself who commanded these very people to slaughter their camels, knowing that God would recompense them manifold for their slaughtered camels. The manner in which God bestows is not restricted to multiplying the food put on spreads when the Prophet petitions Him to do so. God bestows His blessings in different ways; when any particular way is unavailable it does not mean that there is

no other way! This is the wrong way to think! Have you not read this noble verse:

وَمَن يَتَّقِ اللَّهَ يَجْعَل لَّهُ مَخْرَجًا وَيَرْزُقْهُ مِنْ حَيْثُ لَا يَحْتَسِبُ وَمَن يَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ فَهُوَ حَسْبُهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَالِغُ أَمْرِهِ قَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدْرًا.

And whoever fears God, He shall make a way out for him, and provide for him from whence he does not reckon. And whoever puts his trust in God, He will suffice him. Indeed God carries through His command. Certainly God has set a measure for everything (65:2–3).

It is quite clear from these verses that there is not just one way for God to send blessing and all other bodily and spiritual favors; there are innumerous ways for God to send man His endless blessings. That is why every religious believer has to trust in God and believe in Him as his Guardian and Protector in all his affairs, trusting everything to Him and no one else. In this way, God will not only grant his needs, but He alone will be enough for him.

And we know that it is not correct to ask the Prophet to perform miracles and do extraordinary things every time. The Prophet's petition and prayer to God for miracles should only be when absolutely necessary, in exceptional circumstances. And if a prophet constantly asks God for abundant blessing via miraculous means, it is poor etiquette even if God blesses him with it!

That is why we saw the Prophet say in ʿIrbāḍ's hadith: "If I were not shy in front of my Lord, we would every last one of us eat of these dates until we reach Medina."

And fifthly, in this hadith, God's Messenger does not tell Omar he is right or even give him an answer. We only read that the herald announced...and this herald may have been one of Omar's supporters who did not want Omar's instruction not to slaughter the camels to be ignored, even if that meant disobeying the Prophet's command!

The Prophet was thus presented with a *fait accompli* because the spreads were laid out and the surplus provisions were set out, forcing the Prophet to petition in prayer. May God bless you, O Messenger of God!

It may be because of Omar's impoliteness that it does not appear in *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*,[315] which quotes from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, or in *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, which relates from Bayhaqī, from Aḥmad, from Abū Muʿāwiyah, from Aʿmash, or from Abū Ṣāliḥ, or from Abū Hurayrah, or from Abū Saʿīd Khudrī; they relate this hadith, but do not mention Omar [countermanding the Prophet] by ordering the people not to slaughter the camels, and secondly, omit Omar's *telling*

the Prophet not to [give this order]. They instead quote him as saying: "If you do so there will be fewer load-bearing camels."

The Prophet Passes by Ḥijr, the Territory of Thamūd, and Orders His Followers Not to Stop There or Drink Water There

On his way to Tabūk, the Prophet passed by Ḥijr,[316] which was the territory of Thamūd and Prophet Ṣāliḥ, where Prophet Ṣāliḥ's well was, from which his camel drank—the camel that his people hamstrung. The narration says that the people were passing by Ḥijr; they were drawing some of its water and making dough. Thereafter the Prophet's herald announced: "Do not drink from that water, or perform ablution with it for prayer. Feed whatever dough you have [already] made with that water to your camels!"

Sahl Ibn Saʿd Sāʿidī says:

> I was the youngest of all in the caravan, and the reciter of the Qur'an to them at Tabūk. When we stopped at Ḥijr, I made dough for my cohorts, and after the dough had risen, I went in search of firewood, when suddenly the Prophet's herald called: "God's Messenger commands you not to drink water out of that well!" So the people began pouring out [the water] from their water skins, and they said: "O, God's Messenger, we have made dough." God's Messenger said: "Feed it to the camels!"

Sahl says: "So I took what dough I had made, and fed it to two lean camels that were the weakest of all our mounts."[317]

The Prophet commanded all the men not to enter the people's houses unless they [his men] were crying. He stated:

لَا تَدْخُلُوا هَؤُلَاءِ الْقَوْمَ الْمُعَذَّبِينَ إِلَّا أَنْ تَكُونُوا بَاكِينَ فَإِنْ لَمْ تَكُونُوا بَاكِينَ فَلَا تَدْخُلُوا عَلَيْهِمْ فَيُصِيبُكُمْ مَا أَصَابَهُمْ.

"Do not visit that punished tribe unless you are crying; so if you are not crying, do not visit them. Otherwise what has been inflicted on them will be inflicted on you!"[318]

Abū Saʿīd Khudrī says:

> A man brought the Prophet a ring he had found in Ḥijr in the houses of the punished, but [the Prophet] turned away from him and covered [his eyes] with his hand so as not to see the ring. He said: "Throw it away!" The man did so. And to this hour, I know not where it fell! When the Prophet was level with Ḥijr and its homes, he said: "This is the valley to be fled!" i.e. the land we should leave quickly. The people all hastened

to take their mounts away, and I saw God's Messenger giddy-up his camel, leaving that valley behind him.[319]

When the Prophet was at Tabūk, before returning, he made a peace compact with King Īlah, and the people of Jirbāʾ and Adhruḥ.[320] And he sent Khālid Ibn Walīd to Dawmat al-Jandal, to defeat Ukaydir Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, a man from Banī Kinānah who was the Christian king there at that time. God's Messenger said to Khālid: "You will find him hunting oryxes!"

Khālid set out with his army until he reached where he could see the fort on a moonlit night. Ukaydir was on the roof of his fort with his wife. That night, the oryxes came and started hitting the gate of the fort with their horns; Ukaydir's wife told him: "Have you ever seen [a hunt] like this?" He answered: "By God, never!" His wife said: "Who could miss this [opportunity]?" Ukaydir said: "No one." Then he climbed down from the roof and called for his horse, and it was saddled for him. A small group from his household including his brother, Ḥassān, mounted with him. So they mounted and set off from the fort with the means to hunt, bows and arrows. When they set off, the Prophet's cavalry confronted them. They captured Ukaydir [even though his brother, Ḥassān, resisted] and they killed his brother. Ukaydir was wearing a silk robe embroidered with gold plates. Khālid took it off him, and sent [the robe] ahead of him to God's Messenger. When the robe arrived, the Muslims began touching it with their hands, amazed at it.

So God's Messenger asked them: "Are you amazed at this? For by Him, in Whose Hand my soul is, Saʿd Ibn Muʿādh's kerchiefs in Heaven are better than this."

When Khālid Ibn Walīd brought Ukaydir to God's Messenger, [the Prophet] spared his life, and made a peace treaty with him on condition of payment of tribute (*jizyah*). He then freed him. Thereafter Ukaydir returned to his township. It has been narrated that God's Messenger sent Khālid with 420 cavalry.[321]

The Story of the Mountain Pass (*ʿaqabah*), and the Hypocrites' Resolution to Kill the Prophet

On the way back from Tabūk to Medina, the incident on the mountain pass (*ʿaqabah*) took place. The story is as follows: On the way back from Tabūk, the Prophet had no choice but to take a pass at the summit of a mountain. There, some of the hypocrites had conspired to throw him off the pass. When God's Messenger reached the pass,

they wanted to travel with him, but the Prophet was made aware of their plot, so he commanded them to take an easier, wider road at the bottom of the valley. All of them did so while the Prophet traveled the mountain pass, commanding ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir to walk ahead, leading his camel by the reins, and Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān to steer from behind.

While the Prophet was on the pass, all of a sudden he sensed some people were following him. The Prophet became angry and told Ḥudhayfah to stop them.

Ḥudhayfah went up to them, and they realized that the Prophet was angry with them. [Ḥudhayfah] started hitting their camels on the heads with the crook he had in his hand to make them turn back. As they understood that their plan had failed, and that the Prophet was aware of their ill intent, they turned back and escaped, hiding themselves amongst the fighters!

And then Ḥudhayfah returned to the Prophet, steering from behind again.

When the Prophet emerged from the mountain pass, the people dismounted, and the Prophet asked: "O Ḥudhayfah, did you recognize any of the riders whom you turned away?" Ḥudhayfah answered: "O God's Messenger! I recognized X's and Y's camels, but they had covered their faces, so I couldn't see them because of the darkness of the night!"

When the night had passed, and morning came, Usayd Ibn Khuḍayr[322] asked: "O God's Messenger, what stopped you from traveling along the bottom of the valley last night, for it was easier than crossing the mountain pass!"

The Prophet told him: "O Abū Yaḥyā, do you know what the hypocrites intended last night? Do you know what they decided to do with me? They had said: 'Let's follow him along the mountain pass.' Then, when the night got dark, they would cut my camel's foregirths (*ansāʿ*),[323] and then goad the animal to throw me from my saddle!"

Usayd said:

> O God's Messenger, here all the Muslims have gathered together and set up camp. So order every clan and tribe to kill the man [their own member] who planned this. In this way, it will be a fellow tribesman who kills him! And if you will, by Him Who has sent you with the truth, tell me who they were, and no sooner will I bring you their heads, even if they are members of Nabīt.[324] I will protect you from their evil! And command the Khazraj chief to protect you from the evil of his fellow tribesman!

> Should the likes of them be left alone, God's Messenger? How long are we going to keep treating them leniently! They have now become a minority and are abject! On the other hand, Islam has become established, so what is protecting them!

God's Messenger told Usayd: "I would hate people to say: 'When the war ended between Muhammad and the pagans, he made sure and set his hand to killing his own companions!'"[325]

Usayd said: "O God's Messenger, those are not [your] companions!"

[The Prophet] asked: "Do they not publicly bear witness that there is no god but God?" He replied: "Yes, but they do not [truly] bear witness."

[The Prophet] asked: "Do they not publicly bear witness that I am God's Messenger?" He replied: "Yes, but they do not [truly] bear witness."

God's Messenger stated: "But I have indeed been prohibited from killing them."[326]

Ḥudhayfah and ᶜAmmār Know the Names of the Hypocrites Who Were on the Mountain Pass

It is related by Abū Saʿīd Khudrī that there were thirteen people who had decided to kill the Prophet on the mountain pass, and the Prophet revealed their names to Ḥudhayfah and ᶜAmmār.[327]

It is narrated from Jābir Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Ansārī that ᶜAmmār Ibn Yāsir had a dispute with another Muslim about something; they both began cursing each other. They carried on until that man went too far in vilifying ᶜAmmār, so ᶜAmmār asked him: "How many [conspirators] were there on the mountain pass?" He answered: "God knows best!"

ᶜAmmār told him: "Tell me what you know about them!" Thus, the man kept quiet!

Those who were with ᶜAmmār said: "Explain to him what you asked him about!" ᶜAmmār had meant by his question something that was unknown to those present, and that man hated saying anything. The people turned to that man to ask, but he [just] said: "We used to say that there were fourteen men."

ᶜAmmār said: "So, if you were one of them, then there were fifteen men!"

The man said: "Easy! I remind you of God, not to disgrace me!"

ᶜAmmār said:

By God, I have not named anyone, but I bear witness that there were fifteen men, twelve of whom were

حَرْبٌ لِلّٰهِ وَلِرَسُولِهِ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيَوْمَ يَقُومُ الْأَشْهَادُ يَوْمَ لَا يَنْفَعُ الظَّالِمِينَ مَعْذِرَتُهُمْ وَلَهُمُ اللَّعْنَةُ وَلَهُمْ سُوءُ الدَّارِ.[328]

...war against God and against His Messenger, *in the life of the world and on the day when the witnesses arise, the day when their excuses avail not the evildoers, and theirs is the curse, and theirs is the ill abode* (40:51–52)!

It is narrated from Zuhrī, [who] said:

When the Prophet dismounted from his kneeling camel, revelation came to [His Holiness]. That is why his camel stood up again, dragging its reins along, until Ḥudhayfah caught it, took its rein, and led it. When he saw God's Messenger sitting down, he made [the camel] kneel, and then sat by it until God's Messenger stood up, went to [the camel], and asked: "Who is that?" [Ḥudhayfah says:] "I said: 'I am Ḥudhayfah, O God's Messenger!'"

The Prophet stated: "O Ḥudhayfah, I am going to reveal a secret to you, so don't reveal it! I have been forbidden from performing the funeral prayer for X and Y: a group of hypocrites!" He mentioned their names to Ḥudhayfah; and no one else was told.[329]

Then, when the Prophet passed away, and whenever Omar wanted to perform the funeral prayer for anyone believed to be one of the group that was on the pass, he went to Ḥudhayfah, inviting him to take part in the prayer. If Ḥudhayfah went with Omar, he would perform the funeral prayer, but if he resisted going with him, he would not perform the funeral prayer for [the deceased].[330]

Majlisī, may God be pleased with him, relates from Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, and *Tafsīr al-Imām al-Askarī* that:

The night on the pass, the wicked unbeliever wanted to kill God's Messenger, and the hypocrites who had stayed in Medina wanted to kill the Master of the Faithful, but they could not defeat their Lord. What made them [want to] was their jealousy of the Prophet's [attitude] towards the Master of the Faithful, when he honored him and elevated his status. In particular, the Prophet departed from Medina, leaving [Imam Ali] in charge of it. [The Prophet] had declared:

Gabriel came to me saying:

يا مُحَمَّدُ انَّ العَلِيَّ الاعلَى يقرئُكَ السَّلامَ وَيقُولُ لَكَ يا مُحَمَّدُ إمّا أنتَ تَخرُجُ وَيقيمُ عَلِيٌّ، أوْ تُقيمُ أنتَ وَيخرُجُ عَلِيٌّ لابُدَّ مِن ذَلِكَ...

> "O Muhammad! The High, the Most High, salutes you and says to you: 'O Muhammad! Either you leave and Ali stays, or Ali leaves and you stay! It has to be so!'"

Then he quotes the whole hadith, but fearing prolixity we do not do so.

Exegetes say, by way of commentary on the noble verse:

يَحلِفُونَ بِاللهِ مَا قَالُوا وَلَقَدْ قَالُوا كَلِمَةَ الْكُفْرِ وَكَفَرُوا بَعْدَ إِسْلامِهِمْ وَهَمُّوا بِمَا لَمْ يَنَالُوا

They swear by God that they said nothing (wrong), yet they did say the word of disbelief, and did disbelieve after their surrender (to God). And they purposed that which they could not attain (9:74) as referred to above,[331] that one possible interpretation of

وَهَمُّوا بِمَا لَمْ يَنَالُوا

And they purposed that which they could not attain was their plan to kill the Prophet on the pass.[332]

Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm and Shaykh Ṭabrisī stipulate this,[333] and Shaykh Ṭabrisī says:

> It is said that it was revealed about ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy Ibn Salūl. He had gone alongside the Prophet into the battle against Banī al-Muṣṭalaq, but had said to his friends: *Surely, if we return to Medina the mightier will soon drive out the weaker* (63:8). He meant himself by *the mightier* and (God forbid) God's Messenger by *the weaker*! Zayd Ibn Arqam overheard him, and informed God's Messenger in Medina, but ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy denied it. The Supporters reprimanded Zayd Ibn Arqam, who was young, for informing the Prophet. ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy swore that he had not said it and that Zayd Ibn Arqam was lying; thereafter, the verse was revealed, exposing ᶜAbdullāh.[334]

In any case, our co-religionists, may God be pleased with all of them, tell the long story of an assassination (*fatk*)[335] attempt on the Prophet at a pass, on his way back from the Farewell Pilgrimage, and after the Day of Ghadīr Khumm when he appointed Imam Ali as Imam and Caliph, though they do also say [elsewhere], albeit briefly, that it happened when the Prophet was returning from the Battle of Tabūk.

All that matters is that according to Shi'a narrations there was an assassination attempt on the Prophet by fourteen co-conspirators, hypocrites known to 'Ammār Ibn Yāsir and Ḥudhayfah, on the pass at al-Abwā', when the Prophet was returning from Juḥfah to Medina. And the motive behind that attempt was to thwart Imam Ali's appointment as Imam and Caliph, leaving the Ghadīr Sermon unfulfilled through there not being a second pledge of allegiance involving the Prophet in Medina.

The Attempt on the Prophet's Life on the Pass on the Way Back from Ghadīr Khumm

Shaykh 'Ayyāshī narrates in detail from Jābir Ibn Arqam, from his brother Zayd Ibn Arqam, the hadith about the Ghadīr at Juḥfah, and the sermon delivered by the Prophet there; at the end of it [Zayd] says:

> Next to mine [at Juḥfah] was a tent belonging to some of Quraysh; there were three of them. Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān was with me [in my tent] and we heard one of those three say: "By God, Muhammad is stupid if he thinks the Caliphate (*amr*) is right for Ali after he is gone!" Another said: "Do you take him to be stupid? Do you not know that he is mad?! Surely he was almost epileptic in front of the wife of Ibn Abī Kabshah!"[336]
>
> The third one said: "Leave him alone if he wants to be stupid, or if he wants to be mad; by God, what he says will never be!"
>
> Ḥudhayfah became angry at what they said, so he lifted up the side of their tent, poked his head through to them, and said: "You have done so while God's Messenger is still among you, and God's revelation is still coming down to you! By God, I will tell him what you have said tomorrow morning!"
>
> So they said to him: "O Abū 'Abdillāh! You are here, having heard what we said; now keep our secret, because a duty of confidentiality arises from being a neighbor!" Ḥudhayfah said: "This is not a neighbor's relationship or a session from which a duty of confidentiality arises, and this, by you, has nothing to do with integrity! I would not be sincere to God and to his Messenger if I kept this conversation from [the Prophet]!"
>
> They said: "O Abū 'Abdillāh! Do whatever you want to, but we will swear by God that we did not say [it] and that you are lying about us! Do you think [the Prophet] will believe you and disbelieve us, when there are three of us?"

Ḥudhayfah said: "I do not care, as long as I am being sincere to God and to His Messenger; say whatever you wish to say!" He then proceeded until he came to God's Messenger—Imam Ali beside God's Messenger, with his sword on the shoulder—and informed [the Prophet] of what those people had been saying.

God's Messenger sent for them. Thereafter, they came to him, and [the Prophet] asked them: "What did you say?!"

So they said: "By God, we did not say anything, and if you have been informed of anything about us, it is a lie against us!" Thereupon, Gabriel brought down this verse:

يَحْلِفُونَ بِاللَّهِ مَا قَالُوا وَلَقَدْ قَالُوا كَلِمَةَ الْكُفْرِ وَكَفَرُوا بَعْدَ إِسْلَامِهِمْ وَهَمُّوا بِمَا لَمْ يَنَالُوا

They swear by God that they said nothing (wrong), yet they did say the word of disbelief, and did disbelieve after their Surrender (to God). And they purposed that which they could not attain (9:74).

Ali said: "Now let them say whatever they want to! By God, my heart is between my ribs, and my sword is around my neck. If they try anything, then surely I will also try!"

So Gabriel said to the Prophet: "Be patient for what will be!" The Prophet then informed [Imam] Ali what Gabriel had told him, and [His Holiness] replied: "Then I will also be patient, for it is decreed."

Abū ʿAbdillāh [His Holiness Imam Ṣādiq] said: "An old man in the crowd said: 'If we were among our people (*aqwāminā*) as this man [the Prophet] is saying [i.e. under Ali's supervision in our tribes],[337] then we are worse than donkeys!' And a youth, who was next to him, said: 'If you are speaking the truth, then we are worse than donkeys!'"[338]

Furthermore, Shaykh ʿAyyāshī narrates from Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad Khuzāʿī, from his father, [who] said:

I heard [His Holiness] Imam Ṣādiq say:

> When the Prophet had spoken at Ghadīr Khumm, Miqdād passed by some of [the people], and they were saying:
>
> وَاللَّهِ إِنْ كُنَّا وَقِيصَرَ لَكُنَّا فِي الْخَزِّ وَالْوَشْيِ وَالدِّيبَاجِ وَالنِّسَاجَاتِ، وَأَنَّا مَعَهُ فِي الْاَخْشَنَيْنِ: نَأْكُلُ الْخَشِنَ وَنَلْبَسُ الْخَشِنَ حَتَّى إِذَا دَنَا مَوْتُهُ وَفَنِيتْ أَيَّامُهُ وَحَضَرَ

أجلهُ أرادَ أن يولّيها عليّاً من بعدِه أما واللهِ ليعلمَنّ

> By God, if we were with Caesar, we would surely wear fur clothes, or colorful garments, or golden woven robes with silk embroideries. However, now [with Muhammad], we are into the two rough ones: We have been eating rough, and we have been wearing rough, until his death has approached and his days are at an end and his appointed time has come. He now wants to put Ali in charge of us! By God, he will surely learn!

So Miqdād went and warned the Prophet. The Prophet then announced: "Congregational prayer." Thereafter they said: "Miqdād has made an accusation against us." [They said to themselves]: "We will swear to it." They then came and kneeled before God's Messenger and said: "O God's Messenger, may our fathers and mothers be made your sacrifice! By Him Who has sent you with the truth, and honored you with the prophethood: We did not say what you have been informed about. Nay, by Him Who chose you over the rest of mankind, [we said no such a thing]."

The Prophet said:

بسمِ اللهِ الرّحمنِ الرّحيمِ، يحلفونَ باللهِ ما قالوا ولقد قالوا كلمةَ الكفرِ وكفروا بعدَ إسلامِهم وهمّوا بما لم ينالوا يا محمّدُ ليلةَ العقبةِ وما نقموا إلّا أن أغناهم اللهُ من فضلِه،[339] كانَ أحدُهم بيعُ الرؤوسِ، وآخرُ بيعُ الكراعِ، ويفتلُ القرامِلَ، فأغناهمُ اللهُ برسولِه، ثمّ جعلوا حدّهم وحديدَهم عليه[340]

> In the name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful! They swear by God that they said nothing, yet they did say the word of disbelief, and did disbelieve after their surrender. And they attempted to kill you, O Muhammad, that night on the pass, and they sought revenge only that God should enrich them of His bounty! One of them would sell slaves (*ruʾūs*), and another would sell sheep's heads and trotters (*kurāʿ*); and another would weave threads together making ringlets [for women]. Thereafter, God made them rich through His Messenger. They then set their blade and iron against him!

Sunni Hadiths on the Incident on the Pass on the Return from Ghadīr Khumm

By way of commentary on the noble verse

يا أيها الرسول بلغ ما انزل إليك من ربك

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord (5:67), Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm, in his exegesis, cites the Prophet's sermon at Ghadīr Khumm in full, up to

ألا وإنه سيرد علي الحوض منكم رجال يذودون عني، فأقول: رب أصحابي، فيقال: يا محمد، إنهم أحدثوا بعدك، وغيروا سنتك، فأقول: سحقا سحقا.[341]

"Lo, there will come to me at the Pool men from among you whom they will drive back. Then, I will ask: 'O Lord! My companions!' But the answer will come: 'O Muhammad! After your demise they innovated, and changed your tradition!' So I will say: 'Away [with them]! Away [with them]!'"

He then sets out the events at Khayf Mosque and Ghadīr in detail, and quotes the Prophet's words:

ألا من كنت مولاه فهذا علي مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره واخذل من خذله، وأحب من أحبه.

"Lo! Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as Master and be an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him, forsake whoever forsakes him, and love whoever loves him."

> [The Prophet] then said: "O God! Be a witness to them, and I too am one of the witnesses."
>
> And from among his companions, Omar asked him: "O God's Messenger! Is this from God and from His Messenger?" So God's Messenger answered: "Yes, from God and His Messenger."
>
> إنه أمير المؤمنين وإمام المتقين وقائد الغر المحجلين، يقعده الله يوم القيامة على الصراط فيدخل أولياءه الجنة وأعداءه النار.
>
> "He is indeed the Master of the Faithful, and the Imam of the pious, and the Leader of the bright-faced, white-footed! God will sit him on the path, and he will send his followers to Heaven, and his enemies to Hell."
>
> Thereafter, his companions, who turned away after he was gone, said: "Muhammad said what he said in Khayf Mosque, and has said what he said here. If he returns to Medina, he will take a pledge of allegiance to [Ali]!"

Therefore, fourteen men gathered, and conspired to kill God's Messenger. They lay in wait to assassinate him on the pass—a pass between Juḥfah and Abwā'. Seven of them lay in wait to the right of the pass and seven to the left to startle God's Messenger's camel!

When night fell, God's Messenger went ahead of the army that night and approached, feeling drowsy on his camel. Then when he approached the pass, Gabriel called out to him: "O Muhammad! So-and-So and So-and-So are lying in wait for you." Thereafter God's Messenger looked behind himself and asked: "Who is that behind me?" Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān said: "O God's Messenger, it is I, Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān!"

[The Prophet] asked: "Did you hear what I heard?" He replied: "Yes." The Prophet said: "But keep it secret!"

Then God's Messenger approached them, and called them by their names. But when they heard God's Messenger call, they ran away and mingled into the crowd of people, having already hobbled their camels, and left them. The people caught up with God's Messenger, and they searched for them. God's Messenger reached their camels and recognized them. Then when he descended from the pass, he said:

مَا بَالُ أَقْوَامٍ تَحَالَفُوا فِي الْكَعْبَةِ إِنْ مَاتَ مُحَمَّدٌ أَوْ قُتِلَ أَنْ لَا يَرُدُّوا هَذَا الْأَمْرَ فِي أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ أَبَدًا.

"Why is it that some groups have entered into an alliance in the Ka'bah—if Muhammad dies, or [rather] is killed, this mandate [of Imamate] will never come back to his Household!"

[The group] went to God's Messenger and swore that they had not said any of that, had no ill-intent towards him, and had not plotted anything against God's Messenger! Thereafter, God revealed [this verse]:

يَحْلِفُونَ بِاللَّهِ مَا قَالُوا

They swear by God that they said nothing (about keeping this mandate from God's Messenger's Household).

وَلَقَدْ قَالُوا كَلِمَةَ الْكُفْرِ وَكَفَرُوا بَعْدَ إِسْلَامِهِمْ وَهَمُّوا بِمَا لَمْ يَنَالُوا

yet they did say the word of disbelief, and did disbelieve after their surrender (Islāmihim). And they purposed that which they could not attain (assassinating God's Messenger)

وَمَا نَقَمُوا إِلَّا أَنْ أَغْنَاهُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ فَإِنْ يَتُوبُوا يَكُ خَيْرًا لَهُمْ وَإِنْ يَتَوَلَّوْا يُعَذِّبْهُمُ اللَّهُ عَذَابًا أَلِيمًا فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ وَمَا لَهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ مِنْ وَلِيٍّ وَلَا نَصِيرٍ.

and they sought revenge only that God by His Messenger should enrich them of His bounty. If they repent it will be better for them; and if they turn away,

God will afflict them with a painful punishment in the world and the Hereafter, and they have no protecting friend nor helper on earth (9:74).

Thereafter, God's Messenger returned to Medina, and remained there for the whole of Muḥarram and the first of Ṣafar without any complaint. Then the ailment from which he died began.[342]

Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs narrates from Abū Saʿīd Sammān via his chain:

Satan (Iblīs), in the form of a well-mannered old man, came to God's Messenger saying: "O Muhammad! How few are those who pledge allegiance to you over what you say about your paternal cousin Ali!" So God revealed [this verse]:

وَلَقَدْ صَدَّقَ عَلَيْهِمْ إِبْلِيسُ ظَنَّهُ فَاتَّبَعُوهُ إِلَّا فَرِيقًا مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

And Satan indeed found his calculation true concerning them, for they follow him, all save a group of true believers (34:20).

[That day], some of the hypocrites who broke the covenant with the Prophet gathered together and said: "Muhammad said what he said in Khayf Mosque yesterday, and he has said what he has said here! If he returns to Medina, he will take a pledge of allegiance to Ali; therefore, the right thing to do (*al-raʾy*) is for us to kill Muhammad before he enters Medina."

Then Ibn Ṭāwūs relates the same hadith that we related from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*; he relates Abū Saʿīd Sammān's narration of it, completing it with this ending.[343]

And following this hadith, he has a separate section on what Zamakhsharī says in *al-Kashshāf*: from someone who cannot be accused by the Sunnis of being Shiʿa, by way of commentary on Transcendent [God's] words:

لَقَدِ ابْتَغَوُا الْفِتْنَةَ مِنْ قَبْلُ وَقَلَّبُوا لَكَ الْأُمُورَ

Indeed they sought to cause sedition and raised difficulties for you... (9:48) [narrating] from Ibn Jurayḥ that there were twelve [hypocrites] who lay in wait the night of the trail (*laylat al-thaniyyah*),[344] to kill the Prophet on the pass:

لِيَفْتِكُوا بِهِ قَبْلَ غَزَاةِ تَبُوكَ لَكَ الْأُمُورَ وَدَبَّرُوا لَكَ الْحِيَلَ وَالْمَكَائِدَ وَدَوَّرُوا الْآرَاءَ فِي إِبْطَالِ أَمْرِكَ

to assassinate him before the Battle of Tabūk *and raised difficulties for you*, i.e. conspired and plotted against you and turned opinion around, thwarting your mandate. An alternative reading is

وَقَلَّبُوا لَكَ الْأُمُورَ

qalabū laka al-umūr, i.e. with no *shaddah* over the *lām* (*bi takhfīf al-lām*) [meaning] "and turned matters upside down for you"; he says:

حتى جاء الحق وظهر امر الله

(*till the Truth came and God's decree was made manifest*).

Similarly, Zamakhsharī also says in *al-Kashshāf* by way of commentary on God's words:

وَكَفَرُوا بَعْدَ إِسْلَامِهِمْ وَهَمُّوا بِمَا لَمْ يَنَالُوا

yet they did say the word of disbelief, and did disbelieve after their surrender (to God). And they purposed that which they could not attain (9:74): namely attempting to assassinate God's Messenger on his way back from the Tabūk expedition. Fifteen of them agreed to push him from his camel into the valley when he ascended the pass at night! ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir, may God be pleased with him, took hold of [the Prophet's] camel's rein, steering it, and Ḥudhayfah was driving it forward from behind. Right at that time, Ḥudhayfah heard a sound like a camel's hoofbeats and the clattering of weapons. He turned around to see masked men. He told them: "Go away, enemies of God," and so they ran away.[345]

We can infer from the above that two assassination attempts were made on the Prophet on mountain passes: one after the Tabūk expedition and the other on the way back from the Farewell Pilgrimage. In spite of the similarities between the two—they were both on passes, in both instances ʿAmmār steered and Ḥudhayfah drove, and both attempts involved fourteen or fifteen hypocrites—they cannot from a historical perspective be reduced to a single incident because in other aspects they each have a distinct flavor and distinct characteristics.

As we have seen, Zamakhsharī does in *al-Kashshāf* refer to the plural; however, it is not as per the inference drawn by Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs—on the way back from Ghadīr Khumm—and Zamakhsharī is not accused of being Shiʿa.

This is because in Zamakhsharī's words, one of the two incidents occurred before the Tabūk expedition; however, we know that the incident at Ghadīr Khumm took place after the Tabūk expedition. The Tabūk expedition stretched out from the month of Rajab up to the month of Ramaḍān in the year 9 AH. Obviously, the incident on the pass had to have occurred when the Prophet was returning from Tabūk, at the beginning of the month of Ramāḍan. However, the incident at the Ghadīr took place on the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 10

AH; so the incident on the pass must have taken place in the days following the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

We know that there is no account of any third incident on any pass, involving hypocrites attempting to assassinate the Prophet in this way, so it must be said that any changes made to the account must have been made by the narrators from whom Zamakhsharī relates in *al-Kashshāf*.

In any case, let us return to the account of Tabūk, and to explaining everything else that happened when the Prophet re-entered Medina. Wāqidī says by way of commentary on this noble verse: *And they purposed that which they could not attain* (9:74): "They are those who plotted to assassinate the Prophet on the pass. They said to each other: 'If we rid ourselves of Muhammad and return to Medina, we will put the crown on ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy's head, and coronate him.'"[346]

Thereafter God revealed this verse, and so they did not attain that which they purposed.

The Account of the Mosque Built to Cause Harm (*masjid ḍirār*) and to Incite Hypocrisy and Unbelief among the Muslims

As the Prophet entered Dhī Awān, which is not more than an hour's journey away from Medina, God informed him about the mosque built to cause harm (*masjid ḍirār*) and those who had built it, in accordance with their plan to invite Abū ʿĀmir, the corrupt monk from the Levant, to preach to them on various matters. This is because Abū ʿĀmir had already told them that he could not go to Qubā Mosque built by Banū ʿAmr Ibn ʿAwf. He had said: "Muhammad's companions will see us with their own eyes, vilify us, and shame us!"[347] Banū Ghanam Ibn ʿAwf were brothers of Banū ʿAmr Ibn ʿAwf, and were jealous of them for having built Qubā Mosque. They kept saying: "We are not going to pray in the mosque that used to be a donkey pen" (because the land on which Qubā Mosque was built used to be a pen where a woman kept her donkeys). They built a separate mosque of their own, and awaited Abū ʿĀmir, the monk, to come from the Levant as an Imam for them. It was all because they wanted to have a clubhouse or headquarters in which to make decisions against God's Messenger's companions.

Before the new mosque was built, all the Muslims in that area used to pray in Qubā Mosque; then some people stopped attending Qubā Mosque, and prayed in the new mosque instead. This was damaging to Banū ʿAmr Ibn ʿAwf's morale, and caused division

among the Muslims! And even worse, they would sit in the new mosque mocking and criticizing the Prophet.

This is because it was Abū ᶜĀmir who had commanded them to build the mosque—the same Abū ᶜĀmir whom the Prophet had called corrupt (*fāsiq*)! [Abū ᶜĀmir] had told the hypocrites: "Build a new mosque and amass as many weapons as you can! I will go to Caesar, the Byzantine emperor, and bring a big army back with me from Byzantium. Then we can expel Muhammad and his followers from Medina." Thus, a fourth attribute of this mosque is that it was an outpost from which to launch an ambush. It was built for someone who was at war with God and His Messenger, namely Abū ᶜĀmir, the corrupt monk!

In any case, when the Prophet reached Dhī Awān, the people who had built *masjid ḍirār* approached him and asked him to come to them and inaugurate their newly built mosque by praying there, as he had done in Qubā Mosque.

So God informed him on them as follows:

وَالَّذِينَ اتَّخَذُوا مَسْجِداً ضِرَاراً وَكُفْراً وَتَفْرِيقاً بَيْنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَإِرْصَاداً لِّمَنْ حَارَبَ اللهَ وَرَسُولَهُ مِن قَبْلُ وَلَيَحْلِفُنَّ إِنْ أَرَدْنَا إِلَّا الْحُسْنَى وَاللهُ يَشْهَدُ إِنَّهُمْ لَكَاذِبُونَ ۔ لَا تَقُمْ فِيهِ أَبَداً لَّمَسْجِدٌ أُسِّسَ عَلَى التَّقْوَى مِنْ أَوَّلِ يَوْمٍ أَحَقُّ أَن تَقُومَ فِيهِ رِجَالٌ يُحِبُّونَ أَن يَتَطَهَّرُوا وَاللهُ يُحِبُّ الْمُطَّهِّرِينَ ۔ أَفَمَنْ أَسَّسَ بُنْيَانَهُ عَلَى تَقْوَى مِنَ اللهِ وَرِضْوَانٍ خَيْرٌ أَم مَّنْ أَسَّسَ بُنْيَانَهُ عَلَى شَفَا جُرُفٍ هَارٍ فَانْهَارَ بِهِ فِي نَارِ جَهَنَّمَ وَاللهُ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ ۔ لَا يَزَالُ بُنْيَانُهُمُ الَّذِي بَنَوْا رِيبَةً فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ إِلَّا أَن تَقَطَّعَ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَاللهُ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ.

And those who have taken a mosque in opposition and unbelief, and to divide the believers, and as a place of ambush for those who fought God and His Messenger aforetime [Abū ᶜĀmir]—*they will swear "We desired nothing but good,"* [spreading Islam, helping the weak and the elderly on rainy nights, and such] *and God testifies they are truly liars.* [O Prophet!] *Stand there never. A mosque that was founded upon godfearing from the first day* [Qubā Mosque] *is worthier for thee to stand in; therein are men who love to cleanse themselves; and God loves those who cleanse themselves. Why, is he better who*[348] *founded his building upon the fear of God and His good pleasure, or he who founded his building upon the brink of a crumbling bank that has tumbled with him into the fire of hell* [without his realizing]? *And God guides not the evildoing people. The buildings they have built will not cease to be a point of doubt within their hearts* [and they will never reach the level of certainty and assuredness], *unless it be that their*

hearts are cut into pieces [and that doubt and suspicion vanishes cutting up their hearts]; *God is All-knowing, All-wise.* [He raises up one congregation and puts down another] (9:107–110).[349]

When these verses were revealed, God's Messenger summoned ᶜĀṣim Ibn ᶜAwf ᶜAjlānī and Mālik Ibn Dukhsham to him, and told them: "Now, go to this mosque, the people of which are wrongdoers, destroy it, and burn it!" It is related [in another hadith] that [the Prophet] sent ᶜAmmār Ibn Yāsir and Waḥshī to burn it down, and ordered that a bin be taken to dispose of the bodies.[350]

Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm says that God's Messenger sent Mālik Ibn Dukhsham Khuzāʿī and ᶜĀmir Ibn ᶜAdī, two brothers of Banū ᶜAmr Ibn ᶜAwf. Mālik told ᶜĀmir: "Wait till I get some fire from my house!" So he went in [to his house], brought some fire, lit some palm fronds, and then set fire to the mosque. [The people] all scattered except for Zayd Ibn Jāriyah Ibn ᶜĀmir,[351] who sat [in the mosque] until his frame (*al-bunyah*) was burned. [The Prophet] then ordered that the walls be demolished.[352]

And after this, Wāqidī relates:

> Mālik Ibn Dukhsham and ᶜĀṣim Ibn ᶜAdī emerged rapidly after lighting the firebrand, running till they reached the mosque between sunset and night prayers. [The hypocrites] were [in the mosque], and that evening, their Imam was Mujammaᶜ Ibn Jāriyah. ᶜĀṣim says: "I will never forget the way they scrutinized us as if their ears were the ears of a wolf! We then set fire to the mosque till it burned down, and the only one who stayed inside was Zayd Ibn Jāriyah, until his buttocks burned.[353] We then demolished it, leveling it to the ground, and they all ran away."

Shaykh Ṭabrisī says in his commentary on

وإرصاداً لِّمَنْ حَارَبَ اللهَ وَرَسُولَهُ

> It means Abū ᶜĀmir the monk. His story is that he had become a monk in the Time of Ignorance (*al-jāhiliyyah*), donning a hair shirt. Then, when the Prophet came to Medina, he became jealous of [the Prophet] and rallied troops against him. After the conquest of Mecca, he fled to Ṭāʾif. Then, when the people of Ṭāʾif embraced Islam, he went to the Levant. Later on, he went to Byzantium and became a Christian. He was the father of Ḥanẓalah, who was washed by the angels. [Ḥanẓalah] was martyred while fighting for the Prophet at the Battle of Uḥud—he was in a state of major impurity (*junub*), so the angels washed him.
>
> The Prophet called Abū ᶜĀmir corrupt (*al-fāsiq*)! He had sent to the hypocrites to equip themselves and build a mosque: "I will go to Caesar,

bring back his army, and expel Muhammad from Medina." The hypocrites waited for Abū ʿĀmir to come to them, but before reaching the Byzantine emperor, he died, and the news of his death reached Medina.[354]

Wāqidī says:

ʿĀṣim Ibn ʿAdī was asked what made the hypocrites build the mosque intended to cause harm (*masjid ḍirār*). He replied: "Those hypocrites used to gather in our mosque (Qubā Mosque), whisper amongst themselves, and turn to each other. The Muslims would look at them out of the corners of their eyes, and this troubled the hypocrites. It was why they decided to build their own mosque, which only those who shared their opinion would attend."

Abū ʿĀmir would say: "I cannot enter this pen (*mirbad*)[355] of yours! That is because Muhammad's companions watch me, and defame me in a way I hate!"

The hypocrites said: "We will build a mosque where you will preach to us."[356]

Majmaʿ al-Bayān says by way of commentary on

يُحِبُّونَ أَنْ يَتَطَهَّرُوا

who love to cleanse themselves (9:108): "*Taṭahhur* means cleaning oneself with water after urinating and defecating; this is related from Their Holinesses Imam Muhammad Bāqir and Imam Jaʿfar Ṣādiq.

And it is narrated from God's Messenger that he asked the people of Qubā: "What do you do to cleanse yourselves, because God has praised you handsomely?" They answered: "We wash away any trace (*athar*) of excrement."[357] [The Prophet] stated:

God has revealed about you

وَاللهُ يُحِبُّ الْمُطَّهِّرِينَ

and God loves those who cleanse themselves (9:108).[358]

Tafsīr al-ʿAyyāshī relates from Ḥalabī, from Imam Ṣādiq, that

لَمَسْجِدٌ أُسِّسَ عَلَى التَّقْوَى مِنْ أَوَّلِ يَوْمٍ

A mosque that was founded upon godfearing (9:108) means Qubā Mosque.[359]

Similarly, it is related from Zurārah, Ḥamrān, and Muhammad Ibn Muslim from Their Holinesses Imam Bāqir and Imam Ṣādiq that God's words

لَمَسْجِدٌ أُسِّسَ عَلَى التَّقْوَى مِنْ أَوَّلِ يَوْمٍ

mean the Mosque of Qubā.

أَحَقُّ أَنْ تَقُومَ فِيهِ

is worthier for thee to stand in means praying there is worthier than praying in a mosque of hypocrisy. And [the site of the hypocrites' mosque] was on the Prophet's way to Qubā Mosque, so whenever the Prophet wanted to pass by [the hypocrites' mosque], he would splash some lotus-water on the ground, roll up the edge of his garment off his shanks, and walk [cautiously] on the slates lying by the road-side—he disliked the dust of that land settling on any of his clothing.

The narrator says:

> I asked [His Holiness]: "Would the Prophet pray in Qubā Mosque?"
>
> He answered: "Yes, [when he migrated from Mecca to Medina], he stayed in Saʿd Ibn Khaythamah Anṣārī's house."
>
> I asked him: "Did the Prophet's Mosque have any roof?" He answered: "No."
>
> One of his companions asked: "Are you not going to put a roof on our mosque, God's Messenger?" He answered: "A booth (*ʿarish*) like Moses's booth."[360]

The Exegesis of the Verses إِنَّ اللهَ اشْتَرَى مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بِأَنَّ لَهُمُ الْجَنَّةَ

Thus, after explaining about the hypocrites who built *masjid ḍirār*, Honorable and Exalted God explains about the believers:

إِنَّ اللهَ اشْتَرَى مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بِأَنَّ لَهُمُ الْجَنَّةَ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ فَيَقْتُلُونَ وَيُقْتَلُونَ وَعْداً عَلَيْهِ حَقّاً فِي التَّوْرَاةِ وَالإِنْجِيلِ وَالْقُرْآنِ وَمَنْ أَوْفَى بِعَهْدِهِ مِنَ اللهِ فَاسْتَبْشِرُوا بِبَيْعِكُمُ الَّذِي بَايَعْتُمْ بِهِ وَذَلِكَ هُوَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيمُ. التَّائِبُونَ الْعَابِدُونَ الْحَامِدُونَ السَّائِحُونَ الرَّاكِعُونَ السَّاجِدُونَ الآمِرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَالنَّاهُونَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَالْحَافِظُونَ لِحُدُودِ اللهِ وَبَشِّرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

God has bought from the believers their selves and their possessions against the gift of Paradise; they fight in the way of God; they kill, and are killed; that is a promise binding upon God in the Torah, and the Gospel, and the

Qurʾan; and who fulfils his covenant truer than God? So rejoice in the bargain you have made with Him; that is the mighty triumph. Those who repent, those who serve, those who pray, those who journey, those who bow, those who prostrate themselves, those who bid to honour and forbid dishonour, those who keep God's bounds—and give good tidings to the believers (9:111–12).

By way of commentary on these verses, Shaykh Ṭabrisī says:

> Struggle may be armed (*bi al-sayf*) or verbal (*bi al-lisān*). Verbal struggle can be more effective than armed struggle; because *the way of God* means God's religion, and invitation to the religion is initially verbal. The sword comes later on. It is also because proving the correctness of that which is sought to be proven is better, and clarifying and explaining the truth is more appropriate and can only be done verbally. The Prophet said to Imam Ali:
>
> يا عَلِيُّ لأَنْ يهدِيَ اللهُ عَلَى يدَيكَ نَسَمَةً خَيرٌ مِمّا طَلَعَتْ عَلَيهِ الشَّمس!
>
> "O Ali! For God to guide any living soul, at your hands, is better than everything over which the sun rises."[361]

[Ṭabrisī] also says, quoting Zajjāj with regard to God's words

في التوراة والانجيل

in the Torah, and the Gospel, that it means that the people of every nation have been ordered to fight and have been promised Heaven in return.

ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī narrates from *al-Kāfī* via its chain from Samāʿah, from Imam Ṣādiq:

> ʿAbbād Baṣrī met [His Holiness] Ali Ibn al-Husayn on the way to Mecca, and asked him:
>
> يا عَلِيَّ بنَ الحُسَينِ تَرَكتَ الجِهادَ وصُعوبَتَهُ وأقبَلتَ عَلَى الحَجِّ وَلِينَتِهِ! إنَّ اللهَ يقُولُ: إن اللهَ اشتَرَى....
>
> "O Ali Ibn Husayn! You have abandoned *jihād* and its difficulty and addressed yourself to *ḥajj* and its comfort! God says: *God has bought from the believers...*" (9:111–12).

To his question, His Holiness answered:

إذَا رَأَينَا هؤُلاءِ الَّذِينَ هَذِهِ صِفَتُهُم فَالجِهادُ مَعَهُم أفضَلُ مِنَ الحَجِّ.

"When we see those who have such attributes, fighting alongside them will be better than *ḥajj*."

ᶜAllāmah says:

> Imam Sajjād means the attributes referred to in the following verse:
>
> التَّائِبُونَ الْعَابِدُونَ
>
> *Those who repent, those who serve*, etc.[362]

In other words Imam Sajjād means that when the rulers of Islam have such attributes, as described by God, then fighting alongside them against the enemies of the religion is better than going on *ḥajj*. However, if the "*jihād*" is as a follower of ᶜAbd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, Hishām, Walīd, Yazīd Ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik, or someone similar to that, then there is no merit in *jihād* on their path because it is not *jihād* in the way of God. Going on *ḥajj* is better.

Shaykh Ṭabrisī says about

وَبَشِّرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

and give good tidings to the believers: "This is a command to the Prophet to give the glad tidings of a great reward and an exclusively high level for those who believe in God and acknowledge the Prophet's prophethood, if they have these attributes." Our co-religionists, may God be pleased with them, narrate that these are the Infallible Imams' attributes because no one else fully has all these attributes.

Then Ṭabrisī tells the story of Zuhrī's meeting with Imam Ali Ibn al-Husayn on the way to Mecca, [Zuhrī's] objection to [the Imam's] preferring the *ḥajj* pilgrimage to *jihād*, and the Imam's reply that if the rulers had attributes x and y... His words are the same as ᶜAllāmah's quote from *al-Kāfī* of ᶜAbbād Baṣrī's narration.[363]

The Hypocrites' False Apology to the Prophet after Returning from the Tabūk Expedition

The Tabūk expedition eventually came to an end, and the Prophet returned to Medina with the Muslims; there was nothing but humiliation, shame, and disappointment for the hypocrites. They had not been able to kill the Prophet on the pass, and had not seen him and his soldiers captured by the Romans. To make matters worse, with Imam Ali left in charge of Medina, they had not been able to stir up any unrest. Their plans had been thwarted, and above all, their chief, Abū ᶜĀmir, had died, and *masjid ḍirār* had been burned down! They were on their own and powerless. It was then when these blessed verses were revealed:

يُرِيدُونَ لِيُطْفِئُوا نُورَ اللَّهِ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ وَاللَّهُ مُتِمُّ نُورِهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْكَافِرُونَ. هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ.

They desire to extinguish with their mouths, the light of God; but God will perfect His light, though the unbelievers be averse. It is He who has sent His Messenger with the guidance and the religion of truth, that he may uplift it above every religion, though the unbelievers be averse (61:8–9).

This is why, after the Tabūk expedition, the hypocrites went to the Prophet to apologize to him in various ways. One group said: "From now on, we will take part in all battles at your side," so this verse was revealed:

فَإِنْ رَجَعَكَ اللَّهُ إِلَى طَائِفَةٍ مِنْهُمْ فَاسْتَأْذَنُوكَ لِلْخُرُوجِ فَقُلْ لَنْ تَخْرُجُوا مَعِيَ أَبَدًا وَلَنْ تُقَاتِلُوا مَعِيَ عَدُوًّا إِنَّكُمْ رَضِيتُمْ بِالْقُعُودِ أَوَّلَ مَرَّةٍ فَاقْعُدُوا مَعَ الْخَالِفِينَ.

So, if God returns you to a party of them and they ask leave of you to go forth, say: "You shall not go forth with me ever, and you shall not fight with me any enemy. You were well-pleased to tarry the first time, so now tarry with those behind (al-khālifīn)" (9:83).

ᶜAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī says:

> *Al-khālifīn* means those who are normally left behind, i.e. women, children, the sick, and the weak. It is said [in the alternative that] it means those who stay behind without any excuse. It is also said that it means the hypocrites and the corrupt. There is in the words
>
> فَإِنْ رَجَعَكَ اللَّهُ إِلَى طَائِفَةٍ مِنْهُمْ
>
> *So, if God returns you to a party of them* an indication that this verse and previous and subsequent verses in the immediate context were revealed while the Prophet was still on the way to Tabūk—because of the reference to returning to Medina in the future.[364]

The Qurʾan presents their excuses to the Prophet, solemn oaths and pleas to him to forgive them and to be content with them:

يَعْتَذِرُونَ إِلَيْكُمْ إِذَا رَجَعْتُمْ إِلَيْهِمْ قُلْ لَا تَعْتَذِرُوا لَنْ نُؤْمِنَ لَكُمْ قَدْ نَبَّأَنَا اللَّهُ مِنْ أَخْبَارِكُمْ وَسَيَرَى اللَّهُ عَمَلَكُمْ وَرَسُولُهُ ثُمَّ تُرَدُّونَ إِلَى عَالِمِ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ فَيُنَبِّئُكُمْ بِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ. سَيَحْلِفُونَ بِاللَّهِ لَكُمْ إِذَا انْقَلَبْتُمْ إِلَيْهِمْ لِتُعْرِضُوا عَنْهُمْ فَأَعْرِضُوا عَنْهُمْ إِنَّهُمْ رِجْسٌ وَمَأْوَاهُمْ جَهَنَّمُ جَزَاءً بِمَا كَانُوا يَكْسِبُونَ. يَحْلِفُونَ لَكُمْ لِتَرْضَوْا عَنْهُمْ فَإِنْ تَرْضَوْا عَنْهُمْ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَرْضَى عَنِ الْقَوْمِ الْفَاسِقِينَ.

They will make excuses to you, when you return to them. Say: "Do not make excuses; we will not believe you. God has already told us tidings of you. God will surely see your work, and His Messenger, then you will be returned to Him who knows the unseen and the visible, and He will tell you what you were doing." They will swear to you by God, when you turn back to them, that you may turn aside from them. So turn aside from them, for they are an abomination, and their refuge is hell—a recompense for what they have been earning. They will swear to you, that you may be well-pleased with them; but if you are well-pleased with them, God will surely not be well-pleased with the ungodly people (9:94–96).

ᶜAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī says regarding

يَحْلِفُونَ لَكُمْ لِتَرْضَوْا عَنْهُمْ

They will swear to you, that you may be well-pleased with them:

> Just as this oath by them was to stop them from being criticized and rebuked, it was also an entreaty to you to be pleased with them. Do, however, turn aside from them because they are unclean. To maintain purity of and cleanliness of belief, you should not be exposed to hypocrisy, deceit, filth, unbelief, or wickedness! So do not turn your attention to them, by rebuking them or criticizing them. Note that if you did become satisfied with them,
>
> فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَرْضَىٰ عَنِ الْقَوْمِ الْفَاسِقِينَ
>
> *God will surely not be well-pleased with the people of the ungodly*. This means if you become pleased with them, you will become pleased with someone that God is not pleased with—i.e. you will be pleased with what is contrary to God's pleasure! A Muslim should not be pleased with anything that angers his Lord! Hence it is a most eloquent metonym for forbidding being pleased with the hypocrites.[365]

Good evidence in support of this claim is provided by *Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm*, which says that when the Prophet returned from the Tabūk expedition, his believing companions turned their attention to the hypocrites and to harassing them. So God revealed this verse telling them not to sully themselves by engaging with them.[366]

Majmaᶜ al-Bayān says:

> These verses were revealed about Jadd Ibn Qays and Muᶜattab Ibn Qushayr, and their hypocrite friends: eighty of them altogether. It is narrated by Ibn ᶜAbbās that when the Prophet returned from the Tabūk expedition, he told his companions:
>
> لَا تُجَالِسُوهُمْ وَلَا تُكَلِّمُوهُمْ

"Do not sit with or talk to them!" It is narrated [in the alternative] that the verse was revealed about ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, who had sworn in the presence of the Prophet that he would never stay behind in the future, and he pleaded with the Prophet to be pleased with him. This is on the authority of Muqātil.[367]

Revelation of Further Qur'anic Verses about the Hypocrites

Similarly, the following was revealed about the Bedouins:

الاعرابُ أشدُّ كفراً ونفاقاً وأجدرُ أن لا يعلموا حدودَ ما أنزلَ اللهُ على رسولِهِ واللهُ عليمٌ حكيمٌ. ومن الاعرابِ من يتخذُ ما ينفقُ مغرماً ويتربصُ بكمُ الدوائرَ عليهم دائرةُ السوءِ واللهُ سميعٌ عليمٌ.

The Bedouins[368] *are more stubborn in unbelief and hypocrisy, and apter not to know the bounds of what God has sent down on His Messenger; and God is All-knowing, All-wise. Some of the Bedouins take what they expend for a fine, and await the turns of fortune to go against you. Theirs shall be the evil turn; God is All-hearing, All-knowing* (9:97–98).

The Qur'an continues this theme up to 9:101:

وممن حولكم من الاعرابِ منافقونَ ومن أهلِ المدينةِ مردوا على النفاقِ لا تعلمهم نحنُ نعلمهم سنعذبهم مرتينِ ثم يردونَ إلى عذابٍ عظيمٍ.

And some of the Bedouins who dwell around you are hypocrites; and some of the people of the City are grown bold in hypocrisy. You know them not; but We know them, and We shall punish them twice, then they will be returned to a mighty punishment (9:101).

Similarly the Glorious Qur'an describes the hypocrites' agitation whenever a verse was revealed:

وإذا ما أنزلتْ سورةٌ فمنهم من يقولُ أيكم زادتهُ هذهِ إيماناً فأما الذينَ آمنوا فزادتهم إيماناً وهم يستبشرونَ. وأما الذينَ في قلوبهم مرضٌ فزادتهم رجساً إلى رجسهم وماتوا وهم كافرونَ. أولا يرونَ أنهم يفتنونَ في كلِّ عامٍ مرةً أو مرتينِ ثم لا يتوبونَ ولا هم يذكرونَ. وإذا ما أنزلتْ سورةٌ نظرَ بعضهم إلى بعضٍ هل يراكم من أحدٍ ثم انصرفوا صرفَ اللهُ قلوبهم بأنهم قومٌ لا يفقهونَ.

Whenever a chapter is sent down to you, some of them say, "Which of you has this increased in belief?" As for the believers, them it has increased in belief, and they are joyful. But as for those in whose heart is sickness, them it has increased in abomination added to their abomination, and they have died while they were unbelievers. Do they not see that they are tried every year once or twice? Yet still they do not repent, nor do they remember. And whenever a chapter is sent down, they look one at another: "Does anyone see

you?" Then they turn away. God has turned away their hearts, for that they are a people who do not understand (9:124–27).

God also speaks of the hypocrites when charitable donations and compulsory alms were shared out, and they would find fault with the Prophet:

وَمِنْهُم مَّن يَلْمِزُكَ فِي الصَّدَقَاتِ فَإِنْ أُعْطُوا مِنْهَا رَضُوا وَإِن لَّمْ يُعْطَوْا مِنْهَا إِذَا هُمْ يَسْخَطُونَ ـ وَلَوْ أَنَّهُمْ رَضُوا مَا آتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَقَالُوا حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ سَيُؤْتِينَا اللَّهُ مِن فَضْلِهِ وَرَسُولُهُ إِنَّا إِلَى اللَّهِ رَاغِبُونَ.

Some of them find fault with you in the matter of the alms; if they are given a share of them they are well-pleased, but if they are given none then they are angry. O were they well-pleased with what God and His Messenger have brought them, saying, "Enough for us is God; God will bring us of His bounty, and His Messenger; to God we humbly turn" (9:58–59).

وَمِنْهُمُ الَّذِينَ يُؤْذُونَ النَّبِيَّ وَيَقُولُونَ هُوَ أُذُنٌ قُلْ أُذُنُ خَيْرٍ لَّكُمْ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَيُؤْمِنُ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَرَحْمَةٌ لِّلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنكُمْ وَالَّذِينَ يُؤْذُونَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ ـ يَحْلِفُونَ بِاللَّهِ لَكُمْ لِيُرْضُوكُمْ وَاللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَحَقُّ أَن يُرْضُوهُ إِن كَانُوا مُؤْمِنِينَ ـ أَلَمْ يَعْلَمُوا أَنَّهُ مَن يُحَادِدِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَأَنَّ لَهُ نَارَ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدًا فِيهَا ذَٰلِكَ الْخِزْيُ الْعَظِيمُ.

And some of them hurt the Prophet, saying, "He is an ear!" Say: "An ear of good for you; he believes in God, and believes the believers, and he is a mercy to the believers among you. Those who hurt God's Messenger—for them awaits a painful punishment." They swear to you by God, to please you; but God and His Messenger—more right is it they should please Him, if they are believers. Do they not know that whosoever opposes God and His Messenger—for him awaits the fire of hell, therein to dwell forever? That is the mighty degradation (9:61–63).

ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī says:

> God's words
>
> أُذُنُ خَيْرٍ لَّكُمْ
>
> *An ear of good for you* may be a true construct (*iḍāfah ḥaqīqiyyah*), that is the Prophet is ever-hearing—hearing what benefits you, because he hears revelation from God, which benefits you, and he hears advice from the believers, which benefits you! Alternatively it could be an example of a noun annexed to an adjective, that is, an ear that is good for you because it only hears what benefits you, and not what harms you!
>
> The difference between these two interpretations is that in the first one that which is heard is good for them, such as revelation from God and sincere advice given by the believers. According to the second one, it is

the Prophet's listening that is good, even if what he hears is not always good. For example he listens to something that is not good for them, but he listens to it nonetheless without refuting it, thus being polite to the person who says it. He treats what the other person says as true, so as not to disgrace him, and is not suspicious of him. However, he does not subsequently draw the same conclusions from the intelligence that he would from true intelligence. The person to whom the intelligence pertains is not punished, so his faith is respected. Similarly the faith of the informant is also respected.

Thus, the second interpretation is more appropriate, given the context of the verse, because it says:

يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَيُؤْمِنُ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ

he believes in God, and believes the believers.[369]

The Hypocrites Find Fault with the Believers Because of Their Charitable Donations

God says about the hypocrites' miserliness, failure to keep promises, and finding fault with the believers with regard to their charitable donations:

وَمِنْهُم مَّنْ عَاهَدَ اللَّهَ لَئِنْ آتَانَا مِن فَضْلِهِ لَنَصَّدَّقَنَّ وَلَنَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الصَّالِحِينَ ـ فَلَمَّا آتَاهُم مِّن فَضْلِهِ بَخِلُوا بِهِ وَتَوَلَّوا وَّهُم مُّعْرِضُونَ ـ فَأَعْقَبَهُمْ نِفَاقًا فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ إِلَىٰ يَوْمِ يَلْقَوْنَهُ بِمَا أَخْلَفُوا اللَّهَ مَا وَعَدُوهُ وَبِمَا كَانُوا يَكْذِبُونَ ـ أَلَمْ يَعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ يَعْلَمُ سِرَّهُمْ وَنَجْوَاهُمْ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَّامُ الْغُيُوبِ ـ الَّذِينَ يَلْمِزُونَ الْمُطَّوِّعِينَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي الصَّدَقَاتِ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَجِدُونَ إِلَّا جُهْدَهُمْ فَيَسْخَرُونَ مِنْهُمْ سَخِرَ اللَّهُ مِنْهُمْ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ.

And some of them have made covenant with God: "If He gives us of His bounty, we will make offerings and be of the righteous."[370] *Nevertheless, when He gave them of His bounty they were niggardly of it, and turned away, swerving aside. So as a consequence He put hypocrisy into their hearts, until the day they meet Him, for that they failed God in that they promised Him and they were liars. Did they not know that God knows their secret and what they conspire together, and that God knows the things unseen? Those who find fault with the believers who voluntarily give alms, and those who find nothing but their endeavour they deride—God derides them; for them awaits a painful chastisement* (9:75–79).

Shaykh Ṭabrisī says:

Some people have said that it was revealed about Thaʿlabah Ibn Ḥāṭib.

Thaʿlabah was one of the Supporters, and he asked the Prophet: "Pray to God to provide me with wealth."

The Prophet replied:

يا ثَعْلَبَةُ قَلِيلٌ تُؤَدِّي شُكْرَهُ خَيْرٌ مِنْ كَثِيرٍ لَا تُطِيقُهُ، أَمَا لَكَ فِي رَسُولِ اللهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ؟ وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ لَوْ أَرَدْتُ أَنْ تَسِيرَ الْجِبَالُ مَعِي ذَهَبًا وَفِضَّةً لَسَارَتْ،

"O Thaʿlabah! A little for which you show gratitude is better than plenty that you cannot bear! Do you not have a good example in God's Messenger? By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, if I wanted the mountains to travel with me as gold and silver, they would travel!"

Thereafter, Thaʿlabah went back to him and said: "O God's Messenger, pray to God to provide me with wealth! By Him Who sent you with the truth, if God provides me with wealth, I will surely give everyone who is due anything his due!"

So God's Messenger prayed to God: "O, God, provide Thaʿlabah with wealth!" Thaʿlabah then took a flock and it grew like worms. Medina became too small for him, so he moved out, and settled in one of its valleys, and gathered them in a vast field to eat and produce even more sheep. The [flock] grew so large that he had to move far away from Medina.

He became too busy with all that for Friday prayers and congregational prayers generally. God's Messenger sent his collector to collect alms. However, Thaʿlabah refused, was miserly, and said: "This is nothing but the sister of the tribute (*jizyah*)!"

So God's Messenger said: "Woe unto Thaʿlabah! Woe unto Thaʿlabah!" Then these verses were sent down concerning him. And this hadith is related by Abū Umāmah Bāhilī and traces directly back to the Prophet (*marfūʿ*).

It is said [in the alternative] that Thaʿlabah entered a seated gathering of Supporters and called them as his witness: "If God provides for me of His bounty, I will give alms from it, give everyone who is due anything his due, and help my poor relatives." So God tested him—[Thaʿlabah's] cousin died and he inherited his estate, but [Thaʿlabah] did not keep his promise. Thereafter, this was revealed. This is on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās, Saʿīd Ibn Jubayr, and Qatādah.

It is said [in the alternative] that it was revealed about Thaʿlabah Ibn Ḥāṭib and Muʿattab Ibn Qushayr, both from Banī ʿAmr Ibn ʿAwf, who had said: "If God provides us with wealth, we will certainly give alms."

However, when God provided them with wealth, they became miserly; this is on the authority of Hasan and Mujāhid.[371]

After citing this hadith, ᶜAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī says: "The aforementioned hadiths do not contradict each other; Thaᶜlabah may have made a covenant with the Prophet and then called some of the Supporters as witness, and there might have been some others with him—so these hadiths corroborate each other."[372]

The Story of the Three Referred to in وعلى الثلاثة الذين خلفوا

There were three men who did not participate in the Tabūk expedition with the Prophet—apart from the hypocrites who stayed behind, those who had reasonable excuses, and those who later joined the Prophet, like Abū Khaythamah. Even though they believed in the Prophet, had the money, and were able-bodied, sluggishness and weakness gripped them until the army of the Prophet returned. Wāqidī and other narrators[373] tell the full story, but we shall quote an abridged version from Shaykh Ṭabrisī.

He says:

The verse

وعلى الثلاثة الذين خلفوا

And to the three who were left behind (9:118) was revealed about Kaᶜb Ibn Mālik, Marārah Ibn Rabīᶜ, and Hilāl Ibn Umayyah.[374] And this was because they stayed behind and did not set off with God's Messenger, not because of hypocrisy, but because of remissness. However, they then regretted it later on.

When the Prophet returned to Medina, they went to him and apologized. However, the Prophet did not speak to them, and then almost everyone including the children ostracized them. Then their wives went to the Prophet and asked: "Shall we stay away from them?" He answered: "No, but they must not be intimate with you!"

So Medina became strait for them, and they left town for the mountaintops. Their families would bring them food, but without speaking to them! They then said to each other: "Everyone else has ostracized us, so why don't we ostracize each other too?" Thereafter, they split up, no two of them meeting up. They carried on this way for fifty days, beseeching God, and repenting to Him. God then accepted their repentance and revealed this verse about them:

وَعَلَى الثَّلَاثَةِ الَّذِينَ خُلِّفُوا حَتَّىٰ إِذَا ضَاقَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ الْأَرْضُ بِمَا رَحُبَتْ وَضَاقَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ أَنفُسُهُمْ وَظَنُّوا أَن لَّا مَلْجَأَ مِنَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا إِلَيْهِ ثُمَّ تَابَ عَلَيْهِمْ لِيَتُوبُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ التَّوَّابُ الرَّحِيمُ.

And to the three who were left behind, until, when the earth became strait for them, for all its breadth, and their souls became strait for them, and they thought that there was no shelter from God except in Him, then He turned towards them, that they might also turn; surely God turns, and is All-compassionate (9:118).[375]

Those Who Remained Behind in Medina, but with Good Reason, Receive a Reward Similar to That of the Prophet

Wāqidī relates that it was the month of Ramaḍān in the year 9 AH[376] when the Prophet returned to Medina from his expedition, and he said:

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى مَا رَزَقَنَا فِي سَفَرِنَا هَذَا مِنْ أَجْرٍ وَحَسَنَةٍ وَمَنْ بَعْدَنَا شُرَكَاؤُنَا فِيهِ

"Praise be to God for what He has bestowed upon us in this journey of ours; and those following us will also have share in [this provision]."

Ayishe asked: "O God's Messenger! You have endured the journey and its hardships, so do those who stayed behind you [really] share with you?"

God's Messenger replied:

إِنَّ بِالْمَدِينَةِ لَأَقْوَامًا مَا سِرْنَا مِنْ مَسِيرٍ وَلَا هَبَطْنَا وَادِيًا إِلَّا كَانُوا مَعَنَا، حَبَسَهُمُ الْمَرَضُ، أَوَلَيْسَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى يَقُولُ فِي كِتَابِهِ: مَا كَانَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ لِيَنفِرُوا كَافَّةً (9:122) فَنَحْنُ غُزَاتُهُمْ وَهُمْ قَعَدَتُنَا[377] وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ لَدُعَاؤُهُمْ أَنْفَذُ فِي عَدُوِّنَا مِنْ سِلَاحِنَا

Surely there are in Medina people who were with us all the way throughout the journey and in every single valley we descended into—their illness held them back! Did God, the Exalted, not say in His book: *It is not for the believers to go forth totally* (9:122)? We were fighting on their behalf, and they were remaining behind on our behalf! By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, their prayers penetrated the enemy better than our weapons.

Then, the Muslims began selling their weapons, and they said: "Now, the *jihād* has ended!" The rich among them bought them to increase their power; news of that reached God's Messenger, so he stopped them from doing so, and said:

لَا تَزَالُ عِصَابَةٌ مِنْ أُمَّتِي يُجَاهِدُونَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ حَتَّى يَخْرُجَ الدَّجَّالُ.[378]

"A band of my nation will always be fighting over the truth until the Antichrist appears!"

The Death of ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, the Chief of the Hypocrites, in Medina

And a few nights before the end of Shawwāl, ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy fell ill, and he died in Dhū al-Qaᶜdah—his illness only lasted for twenty days, during which God's Messenger used to visit him.

And on the day he died, God's Messenger went to see him. [ᶜAbdullāh] was giving up the ghost. So [the Prophet] reminded him: "I forbade you from loving the Jews!"

ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy said: "Saᶜd Ibn Zurārah hated them but it availed him not!" Ibn Ubayy then said: "O God's Messenger, now is not the time to reproach me! It's time to die! So when I die, attend my ritual wash, and give me your shirt to be shrouded in!" So the Prophet gave him his top shirt—he was wearing two of them—but ᶜAbdullāh said: "The one touching your skin!" So the Prophet took off his undershirt and gave it to him; [ᶜAbdullāh] then asked: "Perform the funeral prayer for me and ask for forgiveness for me."

The Prophet Is Ready to Perform the Funeral Prayer for ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, the Infamous Hypocrite

The Prophet attended [ᶜAbdullāh's] ritual washing, and he shrouded him; [ᶜAbdullāh] was taken to the place for funeral prayers. The Prophet stepped forward to perform the funeral prayer for him.[379]

But when he stood up, Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb pounced on him and said: "O God's Messenger, are you going to perform the funeral prayer for Ibn Ubayy? He said such-and-such about you on such-and-such a day!" He then enumerated everything he had said.

God's Messenger smiled and said:

أَخِّرْ عَنِّي يَا عُمَرُ.

"Step away from me, O Omar." However, when Omar persisted, [the Prophet] said:

> I have been given a choice and I have chosen. If I knew that if I exceeded seventy [pleas] he would be forgiven, I would exceed it. It is as per His words, Honorable and Exalted is He:

اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ إِنْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ كَفَرُوا بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَاللَّهُ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْفَاسِقِينَ

Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them; if you ask pardon for them seventy times, God will not pardon them; that, because they disbelieved in God and His Messenger; God guides not the ungodly people (9:80).

It has been narrated that [the Prophet] said: "I will exceed seventy."

God's Messenger performed the funeral prayer and then left, but just shortly thereafter, this verse was revealed:

وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰ أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ مَاتَ أَبَدًا وَلَا تَقُمْ عَلَىٰ قَبْرِهِ إِنَّهُمْ كَفَرُوا بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَمَاتُوا وَهُمْ فَاسِقُونَ

And never pray over any one of them when he is dead, or stand over his grave; they disbelieved in God and His Messenger, and died while they were ungodly (9:84).

And Mujammaᶜ Ibn Jāriyah would say: "I had never seen God's Messenger take as much time over a funeral prayer as he did over [Ubayy]. They then set off until they reached his grave."

And ᶜAmr Ibn Umayyah Ḍamrī said:

> We tried to get close to his bier, but we could not, because those hypocrites from Banī Qaynuqāᶜ and other [tribes] who had pretended to become Muslim but remained hypocrites, such as Saᶜd Ibn Ḥunayf, Zayd Ibn Luṣayt, Salāmah Ibn Ḥumām, Nuᶜmān Ibn Abī ᶜĀmir, Rāfiᶜ Ibn Ḥarmalah, Mālik Ibn Abī Nawfal, Dāᶜis, and Suwayd, had taken over. They were the most treacherous hypocrites. It was they who exposed him!

Nothing was more difficult for his son ᶜAbdullāh [whom God's Messenger had renamed] than seeing [those hypocrites]! [This son was one of ᶜAbdullāh's close friends], and he used to shut the door on the hypocrites. ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy used to say: "No one but they will undertake [burying] me," and he used to say to his son: "By God, you are dearer to me than water is to a thirsty man!" And [those hypocrites] would say to [Ubayy]: "We wish we could sacrifice ourselves, our children, and our property for you, [so that you had not died!]" When they stood over his grave, and God's Messenger was standing there and watching them, they jostled to go down into his grave, and their voices were raised, to the point that Dāᶜis's nose was struck! ᶜUbādah Ibn al-Ṣāmit started pushing them back and saying: "Lower your voices in God's Messenger's presence." Eventually Dāᶜis's nose was struck again and the blood flowed. He wanted to go down into [Ibn Ubayy's] grave, but he was pushed aside. However, some men from his tribe, men of merit and Islam, entered the grave.

It was when they saw the Prophet pray for him, attend there, and stand over [his grave]. In the end, his son ᶜAbdullāh and Saᶜd Ibn ᶜUbādah Ibn Ṣāmit and Aws Ibn Khawlī went down into his grave until it was leveled over him. Then the Prophet's most senior companions and the highest ranking, Aws and Khazraj, standing by the Prophet, lowered him [Ibn Ubayy] into the grave. God's Messenger stood over [Ibn Ubayy's] grave until he was buried, offered condolences to his son, and went away.

ᶜAmr Ibn Umayyah would say: "What did these hypocrite friends of [Ibn Ubayy's] encounter?! On one hand, they threw earth into his grave, [but on the other hand], they would say: 'We wish we could sacrifice ourselves for you! We wish we had died before you,' scattering dust onto their own heads!" He who admired him would say: "The Khazraj were a poor tribe but [Ubayy] was charitable with them."[380]

The commentary *al-Durr al-Manthūr* says after God's Messenger's words to Omar, "Step away from me, Omar!" Omar said: "God's Messenger performed the funeral prayer for him, walked in his funeral procession until he stood over his grave, and went away. I was then surprised at myself and my audacity towards God's Messenger, but God and His Messenger know best!"[381]

It is related in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, also on the authority of Ibn Abī Ḥātim, from Shaᶜbī, that Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said:

> Surely I made a mistake after having become a Muslim (*fi al-Islām*) the like of which I had not made before! God's Messenger wanted to perform the funeral prayer for ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, so I grabbed his cloak and said:
>
> > By God, God has not commanded you to do so. God has stated:
> >
> > اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ إِنْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ.
> >
> > *Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them; if you ask pardon for them seventy times, God will not pardon them* (9:80).
>
> But God's Messenger told me: "My Lord has given me a choice, saying: *Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them.*"
>
> Then God's Messenger sat on the edge of his grave, and the people began saying to his son ᶜAbdullāh: "O Ḥubāb, do x, O Ḥubāb, do y!" God's Messenger then said: "Ḥubāb is Satan's name. You are ᶜAbdullāh [now]."[382]

Discussion on How the Prophet Performed the Funeral Prayer for a Believer and for a Hypocrite

Shaykh Ṭabrisī says:

> God, the Exalted, forbade his Prophet from performing the funeral prayer for hypocrites, stating:
>
> وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰ أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم مَّاتَ أَبَدًا
>
> *And never pray over any one of them when he is dead* [because the Prophet used to perform the funeral prayer for them and apply the same rules to them as to Muslims]
>
> وَلَا تَقُمْ عَلَىٰ قَبْرِهِ
>
> *or stand over his grave* (9:84).

It was because in the past, the Prophet had stood by their gravesides and prayed for them for a while. Thereafter, Honorable and Exalted God forbade him from performing the funeral prayer for them and praying for forgiveness at their gravesides, explaining that they had become disbelievers and died as sinners. After that the Prophet never again prayed for a hypocrite until he was taken.

By saying *or stand over his grave* this verse proves that standing by a graveside to pray for the deceased is a lawful act of worship; if it were not so, God would not have *specifically* forbidden doing so for the disbelievers.

And it is narrated that God's Messenger had performed the funeral prayer for ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy and shrouded him in his shirt before he had been forbidden from praying for the hypocrites. This is on the authority of Ibn ᶜAbbās and Qatādah.

And it is narrated from Hasan and Anas that he wanted to perform the funeral prayer for him, but Gabriel grabbed him by his cloak, and recited this verse to him:

وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰ أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم مَّاتَ أَبَدًا

And never pray over any one of them when he is dead (9:84).

It is narrated that God's Messenger was asked: "Why did you send your shirt to him to be shrouded in when he was an unbeliever?!" The Holiness answered: "My shirt will surely not avail him of anything from God. I only hoped from God that because of this, many creatures would enter Islam!"

And it is narrated that a thousand Khazraj became Muslims when they saw him seek a cure[383] by God's Messenger's shirt! This

statement is by Zajjāj, and he says: "The majority of hadiths say that he did not perform the funeral prayer for [Ibn Ubayy]."[384]

Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm says that when the Prophet returned to Medina, and ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy fell ill—and his son ᶜAbdullāh [Ibn ᶜAbdullāh] was a believer—[his son] went to God's Messenger while his father was giving up the ghost, and he said: "O God's Messenger, may my father and mother be made your sacrifice! If you do not come to visit my father, it will be a disgrace for us!" So, God's Messenger went to visit him, but some of the hypocrites were with him. His son ᶜAbdullāh then said: "[O God's Messenger], ask for forgiveness for him!" Thereupon, Omar said: "O God's Messenger, did God not forbid you from praying for them and seeking forgiveness for them?!" God's Messenger turned away from him, so [Omar] repeated it to him.

God's Messenger then told him:

> Woe unto you! I have been given a choice, so I have chosen. God says:
>
> اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ إِنْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ
>
> *Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them; if you ask pardon for them seventy times, God will not pardon them* (9:80).

And when Ibn Ubayy passed away, his son went to God's Messenger and said: "O God's Messenger, may my father and mother be made your sacrifice! If you would like to, please attend his funeral!" So God's Messenger attended it and stood over his grave.

Thereafter, Omar said: "O God's Messenger, did God not forbid you from ever praying for any of them, or standing over his grave?!" God's Messenger answered: "Woe unto you! Do you know what I said? I only said: 'O God, fill his grave with fire, and his stomach with fire, and burn him up into fire!'" Thus, something was revealed from God's Messenger that he did not like.[385]

A similar hadith is narrated in *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī* from Imam Muhammad Bāqir.[386]

And in another hadith, Ḥannān relates from his father, from His Holiness Imam Muhammad Bāqir, [who] said:

> A man—one of the hypocrites—died, and God's Messenger sent [word] to his father[387] saying: "When you finish with him, let me know." Therefore, when they had resolved to move off, he sent for God's Messenger. So he came, took [Ibn Ubayy's] son by the hand in the funeral procession, and proceeded. Omar stepped up to him and said: "O God's Messenger, has your Lord not forbidden you from this, from ever praying

for any of them who dies, or standing over his grave?!" But he did not answer him. Before they reached the grave with him, Omar repeated what he had said again. But [this time], God's Messenger told him: "You have not seen us pray for him over a funeral procession, or stand over his grave!" Then he added: "His son is of the believers, and it is our duty to give him his due." Omar said: "I seek refuge in God from God's wrath, and your wrath, O God's Messenger!"[388]

And after quoting these two hadiths,[389] Fayḍ Kāshānī says in *Tafsīr al-Ṣāfī*:

The Prophet was very shy and noble, as Mighty and Sublime God says: فَيَسْتَحْيِي مِنْكُمْ وَاللَّهُ لَا يَسْتَحْيِي مِنَ الْحَقِّ.[390] *and he would be shy of (asking) you (to go); but God is not shy of the truth* (33:53). So he hated to see any of his companions, who publicly professed faith, be disgraced. That is why he would curse (*yadᶜūn ᶜalā*) the hypocrites under the guise of praying for them (*yadᶜūn lahum*). This is the meaning of what he said to Omar: "You have not seen us pray for him over a funeral procession or stand over his grave!" and similarly the meaning of what he said according to Qummī's hadith: "I have been given a choice and so I have chosen to seek forgiveness [for him]."

This is because Qummī is not quoting an Infallible, so in this instance, ᶜAyyāshī's hadith is more reliable than Qummī's. because ᶜAyyāshī relies on the word of an Infallible whereas Qummī does not. The thread of Qummī's narrative in places suggests that the reason for the revelation of this verse was the story of Ibn Ubayy, and in other places suggests that it was revealed before that. The book of *al-Kāfī* says on the authority of Imam Ṣādiq: "God's Messenger used to say: 'God is too great [to be described]!' for some people but only four times for others. If he said: 'God is too great [to be described]!' four times, [the deceased] would be [posthumously] accused of having been a hypocrite." *Al-Kāfī* also says, as does *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*, on the authority of Imam Ṣādiq, that when God's Messenger performed the funeral prayer for a deceased, he would say: "God is too great [to be described]," testify,[391] then say: "God is too great [to be described]," send blessings on the Prophets, then say: "God is too great [to be described]," then pray for the believers, then say: "God is too great [to be described]" a fourth time, then pray for the deceased, then say: "God is too great [to be described]," and then finish.

Thereafter, when God, Mighty and Sublime is He, forbade him from praying for the hypocrites, he would say: "God is too great [to be described]," testify, then say: "God is too great [to be described]," send blessings on the Prophets, then say: "God is too great [to be described]," then pray for the believers, then say: "God is too great [to be described]" a fourth time, and finish without praying for the deceased.[392]

ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī's Refutation of the Narrations about the Prophet's Having Performed the Funeral Prayer for Ibn Ubayy

However, our master, ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī, has discussed this matter in two places:

i) After the glorious verse

اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ إِن تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَن يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ

Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them; if you ask pardon for them seventy times, God will not pardon them (9:80). The vacillation between the imperative and negative imperative is a metonym for its being the same whether one does it or not—i.e. it is senseless or pointless to ask for forgiveness. A similar example is as God says:

قُلْ أَنفِقُوا طَوْعًا أَوْ كَرْهًا لَّن يُتَقَبَّلَ مِنكُمْ

Say: "Expend willingly, or unwillingly, it shall not be accepted from you..." (9:53). So it means that God's forgiveness does not reach the hypocrites; it is the same asking for forgiveness for them or not, because asking for forgiveness is pointless and ineffectual!

God's words:

إِن تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَن يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ

just emphasize the aforementioned ineffectuality of seeking forgiveness for them and make it clear that no forgiveness at all will reach them no matter whether you ask for forgiveness for them or not, and no matter whether you ask for forgiveness for them just a few times or several times. Seventy is an allusion to asking for forgiveness many times without there being any specific relevance to the number—one, two, or up to seventy pleas for forgiveness being ineffectual for them, but over seventy being effective. This is because of the reason given:

ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ كَفَرُوا بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ

that, because they disbelieved in God and His Messenger. In other words, the impediment to forgiveness applying to them is their disbelief in God and His Messenger; this impediment does not vary by not asking for forgiveness, or making just one [plea] or many! They are still unbelievers! Using "seventy" as a non-specific indicator of a large quantity, and similarly using "a hundred" or "a thousand" is common in Arabic (*al-lughah*).[393]

[ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī] says in the discussion on narrations:

Al-Durr al-Manthūr says:

> Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim relate from ʿUrwah that ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy said to his companions: "If you did not donate to Muhammad and his companions, they would disperse from around him"; it was he who said:
>
> لَيُخْرِجَنَّ الْأَعَزُّ مِنْهَا الْأَذَلَّ
>
> *the mightier will soon drive out the weaker* (63:8). He meant by *the mightier* himself, and by *the weaker*, the Prophet [God forbid]!
>
> Thereafter, God revealed [this verse]:
>
> اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ إِنْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ.
>
> *Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them; if you ask pardon for them seventy times, God will not pardon them* (9:80).
>
> God's Messenger said: "I will surely exceed seventy," so God revealed:
>
> سَوَاءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ أَسْتَغْفَرْتَ لَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ لَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ.
>
> *Equal it is for them, whether you ask forgiveness for them or you ask not forgiveness for them; God will never forgive them* (63:6).

[ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī] says, after quoting two other hadiths with the same meaning, but via two other chains, from *al-Durr al-Manthūr*:

> Indubitably, these were some of the verses that were revealed towards the end of the Prophet's life; they had undoubtedly been preceded by all the Meccan verses, and most of the Medinan chapters and verses. Anyone reflecting on God's Book will have no doubt that there was no hope of salvation and no hope of forgiveness for the unbelievers and the hypocrites—who were even worse than [the unbelievers]—if they remained unbelievers and hypocrites till they died. There are many explicit, categorical Meccan and Medinan verses that say so.
>
> And the noblest Prophet's position is too sublime for it not to occur to him what God has revealed to him, or for him not to be sure about the eternal punishment that God has threatened them with as an inevitability, and hope that through imploring and beseeching God to forgive them, inevitable decree can be negated! He is also too sublime not to realize that the presentation of all the alternatives (*taraddud*) in the verse is to show the ineffectuality [of all the alternatives], and that there is nothing special about the number seventy, such that he can hope they will be forgiven if he exceeds seventy [pleas].

And I wish I knew: What do God's words in *Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn* ("The Hypocrites") add:

سَوَاءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ أَسْتَغْفَرْتَ لَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ لَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ.

Equal it is for them, whether you ask forgiveness for them or you ask not forgiveness for them; God will never forgive them (63:6) to what He says in *Sūrat al-Tawbah* ("Repentance")

اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ إِنْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ

Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them; if you ask pardon for them seventy times, God will not pardon them (9:80)? [After all], in both verses, God, the Exalted, explains that the reason they are eternally denied forgiveness is that they are ungodly, and God never forgives ungodly people!

In summary, these hadiths and others with a similar meaning are fabrications, and they must be discarded.[394]

He then says:

The hadiths that do not refer to his not asking for forgiveness, in relation to *Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn* ("The Hypocrites"), but do in relation to *Sūrat al-Tawbah* ("Repentance"), such as the hadith cited in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, where God's Messenger says to Omar:

أَخِّرْ عَنِّي يَا عُمَرُ إِنِّي قَدْ خُيِّرْتُ، قَدْ قِيلَ لِي: اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ إِنْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً، فَلَوْ أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي زِدْتُ عَلَى السَّبْعِينَ غُفِرَ لَهُ زِدْتُ عَلَيْهَا.

"Step away from me, O Omar... I have been given a choice and I have chosen. If I knew that if I exceeded seventy [pleas] he would be forgiven, I would exceed it..." are clear proof that the Prophet despaired of God's forgiveness being applicable to the hypocrites. It is testimony to the fact that the Prophet's words "I have been given a choice; I was told: *Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them,*" mean that God left the matter open. He did not forbid [the Prophet] from seeking forgiveness for them. [However, it does] not [mean] that God gave him a true choice such that his asking forgiveness for them would have any effect, achieving forgiveness for them, or that there was any hope of it.

Thus, it is known that even if it is possible to prove that the Prophet [appeared to] ask for forgiveness for ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, perform the funeral prayer for him, and stand over his grave, he did not *actually* ask for forgiveness for him or pray for him as per Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm Qummī's hadith.[395]

And secondly, our great master says under the noble verse:

وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰٓ أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم مَّاتَ أَبَدًا وَلَا تَقُمْ عَلَىٰ قَبْرِهِۦٓ ۖ إِنَّهُمْ كَفَرُوا۟ بِٱللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِۦ وَمَاتُوا۟ وَهُمْ فَٰسِقُونَ

And never pray over any one of them when he is dead, or stand over his grave; they disbelieved in God and His Messenger, and died while they were ungodly (9:84):

> God forbade the Prophet from performing the funeral prayer for and standing over the grave of any of the hypocrites who died. The reason He gives is that they disbelieved and were ungodly, and were so till they died. He also gives a reason after
>
> استغفر لهم أو لا تستغفر لهم
>
> *Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them* (9:80) and in
>
> سَوَآءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ أَسْتَغْفَرْتَ لَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ لَن يَغْفِرَ ٱللَّهُ لَهُمْ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِى ٱلْقَوْمَ ٱلْفَٰسِقِينَ
>
> *Equal it is for them, whether you ask forgiveness for them or you ask not forgiveness for them; God will never forgive them. God guides not the ungodly people* (63:6).
>
> To summarize all of the above: There is no way for anyone who has lost faith in God, because unbelief has taken over and enveloped his heart and gradually influenced his soul, to be guided to salvation. All three verses expose the futility of asking for forgiveness for the hypocrites, performing the funeral prayer for their dead, and standing over their graves to pray for them. And there is another point in this verse that that Prophet used to perform the funeral prayer for the Muslims, and stand over their graves to pray for them.[396]

In the discussion on relevant hadiths, [ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī] quotes narrations from *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, quoting in turn from *Bukhārī*, *Muslim*, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Abī Mundhar, Abū al-Shaykh, Ibn Mardawayh, and Bayhaqī in *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwah*, and similarly quoting from Bukhārī, Aḥmad, Tirmidhī, Nasāʾī, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Naḥḥās, Ibn Ḥibbān, Ibn Mardawayh, and Abū Nuʿaym in *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, who all say:

> When Ibn Ubayy died and God's Messenger was invited to perform the funeral prayer for him, Omar grabbed God's Messenger by the cloak saying: "Has God not forbidden you from performing the funeral prayer for the hypocrites?!" God's Messenger replied: "I have been given a choice...and I will ask forgiveness for him more than seventy times." [Again] Omar said: "But he is a hypocrite!"

God's Messenger performed the funeral prayer for him, and the verse:

وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰ أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم

And never pray over any one of them (9:84) was revealed, and since then the Prophet stopped praying for them. ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī says after quoting several other hadiths with a similar content:

> Some Shiʿa hadiths with a broken chain of transmission also refer to the Prophet's asking for forgiveness for ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy. They are cited by ʿAyyāshī and Qummī in their exegeses.
>
> Because these hadiths contain internal contradictions and inconsistencies and conflict with each other, they are undoubtedly refuted by the noble verses of the Qurʾan. This is firstly because the apparent meaning of God's words:
>
> اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ إِن تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَن يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ
>
> *Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them; if you ask pardon for them seventy times, God will not pardon them* (9:80), is clearly to explain the futility of asking for forgiveness for the hypocrites, and not to give a choice. The number seventy is used for hyperbole. There is nothing special about the number seventy such that it should give any hope if it is exceeded. The Prophet is too sublime not to understand this, and to interpret the verse as giving him a choice, and then to say that he will exceed seventy, only for someone else to remind him what the verse means, and then to persist in his ignorance until God, the Exalted, sends another similar verse to forbid him from performing the funeral prayer [for the hypocrites] and so on.
>
> Furthermore, all these verses address [the matter of] asking for forgiveness for the hypocrites and praying for them, such as
>
> اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ
>
> *Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them* (9:80) and
>
> وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰ أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم
>
> *And never pray over any one of them* (9:84) explain that the prohibition and the futility is because of their disbelief and ungodliness up to:
>
> مَا كَانَ لِلنَّبِيِّ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَن يَسْتَغْفِرُوا لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ وَلَوْ كَانُوا أُولِي قُرْبَىٰ مِن بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُمْ أَصْحَابُ الْجَحِيمِ
>
> *It is not for the Prophet and the believers to ask pardon for the idolaters, even though they be near kinsmen, after that it has become clear to them that they*

will be the inhabitants of hell (9:113) where God forbids asking for forgiveness for them, explaining that it is because of their unbelief and their eternity in Hell.

How can one imagine that asking for forgiveness for and praying for them are permissible!

And secondly, it is clear from the context that

وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰ أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم مَّاتَ أَبَدًا

And never pray over any one of them when he is dead was revealed when the Prophet was on his way to the Battle of Tabūk, and had not yet returned to Medina, i.e. in the year 8 AH, but ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy died in the year 9 AH in Medina. All this is a given, based on oral evidence.

So, what is the meaning of what these hadiths say—that the Prophet performed the funeral prayer for ʿAbdullāh [Ibn Ubayy] and stood over his grave, and then God revealed

وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰ أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم مَّاتَ أَبَدًا

And never pray over any one of them when he is dead?

Even more shockingly, one of the aforementioned hadiths says that Omar said to the Prophet: "Are you going to perform the funeral prayer for ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, even though God has forbidden you from performing the funeral prayer for the hypocrites?!" and the Prophet said: "My Lord has given me a choice," and then God revealed

وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰ أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم مَّاتَ أَبَدًا

And never pray over any one of them when he is dead... (9:84).

And even more shocking than that is what the last hadith says about the revelation of the verse:

سَوَآءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ اسْتَغْفَرْتَ لَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ لَن يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ

Equal it is for them, whether you ask forgiveness for them or you ask not forgiveness for them; God will never forgive them (63:6) in *Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn* ("The Hypocrites"), which was revealed after the verse in *Sūrat al-Tawbah* ("Repentance"):

اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ

Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them (9:80). However, everyone knows that this verse [in *Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn* ("The Hypocrites")] was revealed after the Battle of Banī al-Muṣṭalaq, in the year 5 AH, when ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy was still alive, and

لَئِن رَّجَعْنَا إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ لَيُخْرِجَنَّ الْأَعَزُّ مِنْهَا الْأَذَلَّ

Surely, if we return to Medina the mightier will soon drive out the weaker (63:8) is in *Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn*.

One of these hadiths says—and those who seek to defend them rely on this claim—that the Prophet only asked for forgiveness for ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy and performed the funeral prayer for him to persuade some hypocrites from the Tribe of Khazraj to submit (*Islām*). But how can this be correct? How can the Prophet have disobeyed an explicit instruction in the Holy Qurʾan just to persuade and cajole the hypocrites?! God gave him the most severe warning against doing so:

إِذًا لَّأَذَقْنَاكَ ضِعْفَ الْحَيَاةِ وَضِعْفَ الْمَمَاتِ

...then would We have let you taste the double of life and the double of death (17:75). Therefore, the only recourse is to say that these hadiths are fabrications; they contradict the Qurʾan, so they must be rejected.[397]

And I, the most humble, say: As our great master has said, there is no doubt in the obvious contradictions in the content and meanings of these hadiths! However, it can almost be said that it is a historical fact that the Prophet did ask for forgiveness for, and perform the funeral prayer for, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, and that Omar did challenge [the Prophet] for doing so.

Becoming a Muslim by Testifying to Two Things

A Person becomes a Muslim by testifying to two things:

اشهد ان لا إله الا الله، اشهد ان محمداً رسول الله

"I testify that there is no god but God; I testify that Muhammad is God's Messenger," and remains a Muslim as long as he is not heard saying anything that would make him an apostate and unbeliever or as long as he is not found to be an unbeliever by an Islamic judge or ruler.

Irrespective of any explanatory comments that can be made, we cannot ignore this matter. To explain this fact, we say: One of the fundamentals we learn from the Holy Qurʾan and the Sunnah is that there is no salvation for those who remain disbelievers or polytheists till they die.

Not only is it futile to ask forgiveness for them after they die, but it is also not permissible according to the *sharīʿah;* it is prohibited. The believers should not ask forgiveness for the pagans, perform funeral prayers for them, or even stand over their graves to ask for mercy for them! However, they should ask for forgiveness for the Muslims,

perform the funeral prayer for them, and treat them as Muslims in all marital matters and transactions, shroud them, bury them, and so on, irrespective of whether they are [in fact] true Muslims or [just] hypocrites pretending to be Muslims, as long as words of apostasy and disbelief do not spill off their tongues, and an Islamic ruler or judge does not pronounce them to be unbelievers.

Therefore, the long front line in opposition to the pagans is made up of both true believers and hypocrites who hide their hypocrisy in their hearts! This long front line should be treated as Muslims in all matters pertaining to acts of worship, transactions, policies, and laws; they must be seen as Muslims, even if there are apparent traces of hypocrisy, as long as there is no conclusive proof. The life of anyone who says: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is His Messenger," must be spared, and his property, wives, and other female relatives are inviolable. It is the duty of the Islamic government to respect and look after him, and in all affairs, to treat him as a Muslim person.

مَا كَانَ لِلنَّبِيِّ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَن يَسْتَغْفِرُوا لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ وَلَوْ كَانُوا أُولِي قُرْبَىٰ مِن بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُمْ أَصْحَابُ الْجَحِيمِ

It is not for the Prophet and the believers to ask pardon for the idolaters, even if they are close relatives (9:113) is specifically about the pagans, and not the hypocrites so long as their unbelief and polytheism has not been established before an Islamic judge. Hence, this tranche of hypocrites is considered to be Muslims.

And we have already seen that when Usayd Ibn Ḥuḍayr asked the Prophet's permission to kill the hypocrites who had attempted to assassinate the Prophet on the pass, the Prophet asked in reply: "Have they not confessed God's Unity, and testified to my prophethood?" He replied: "Yes." [The Prophet] said: "God has forbidden me to kill those people."[398]

The Prophet treated ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, and all the other hypocrites, even the worst ones, as Muslims. He would take *zakāt* from the rich among them, and then redistribute it to the poor among them; he applied all the wartime and peacetime laws of Islam, e.g. rules pertaining to warfare and the distribution of spoils.

It continued this way until the Battle of Banī al-Muṣṭalaq, when ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, in 5 AH, left Medina along with the Prophet, and secretly said such ugly words against the Prophet to his [ʿAbdullāh's] own friends, without any of the Prophet's companions being present. Reference is made to this in *Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn* ("The Hypocrites"). None of Khazraj told the Prophet, apart from Zayd Ibn Arqam, who was a junior, whereas ʿAbdullāh was a nobleman and

chief. ʿAbdullāh denied it vociferously, swearing he had not said such a thing, and that Zayd was lying, until those verses in *Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn* were revealed, including:

سَوَاءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ اسْتَغْفَرْتَ لَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ لَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْفَاسِقِينَ

Equal it is for them, whether you ask forgiveness for them or you ask not forgiveness for them; God will never forgive them; God will never forgive them. God guides not the ungodly people (63:6). It means: O Prophet, do not be too hard on yourself over the hypocrites. Do not ask for what is good for them and do not ask forgiveness for them! They are the fickle, and x and y! Do not let your effort, care for them, and effusive love to guide them just get blown away. Their hearts have become as hard as stones, and there is no hope of educating them. They have blocked the way of guidance, and God's forgiveness does not apply to them!

Nor is ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy branded as an unbeliever in *Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn* ("The Hypocrites"). All it says is phrases such as:

إِنَّ الْمُنَافِقِينَ لَكَاذِبُونَ

the hypocrites are indeed liars (63:1);

إِنَّهُمْ سَاءَ مَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ

Evil indeed is what they used to do (63:2);

الْقَوْمَ الْفَاسِقِينَ

the ungodly people (63:6);

وَلَٰكِنَّ الْمُنَافِقِينَ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ

but the hypocrites do not understand (63:7); and

وَلَٰكِنَّ الْمُنَافِقِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ

but the hypocrites do not know (63:8). This is all God says here, and obviously no one can be pronounced an unbeliever on the basis of these words, grouped with the pagans, and damned eternally to Hell as far as Islamic law in practice is concerned. On the other hand,

سَوَاءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ اسْتَغْفَرْتَ لَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ لَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ

Equal it is for them, whether you ask forgiveness for them or you ask not forgiveness for them; God will never forgive them (63:6) does not prohibit asking for forgiveness for them. It just means: Forgiveness is futile for this group. Do not give up your comfort or rest, lose any sleep, or skip any meals to guide them!

It is similar to:

سَوَاءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ ءَأَنذَرْتَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تُنذِرْهُمْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ

it is the same to them whether you warn them or do not warn them; they will not believe (2:6) and

وَسَوَاءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ ءَأَنذَرْتَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تُنذِرْهُمْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ.

It is the same to them whether you warn them or not warn them; they will not believe (36:10).

Of course it does not mean: "O Prophet, it is unlawful for you to guide the unbelievers," i.e., that God has forbidden you from doing so. Rather, it means that they have crossed the line with their actions; your warning them is fruitless, so why are you suffering for them? Why are you putting your very being at their disposal?

Some Verses That Say That the Prophet's Only Duty Is to Propagate

We only sent you to deliver, you have no duty other than to deliver, and you are not responsible for their sins or their polytheism!

فَهَلْ عَلَى الرُّسُلِ إِلَّا الْبَلَاغُ الْمُبِينُ

Is the Messengers' duty anything but to communicate in clear terms? (16:35);

فَإِن تَوَلَّوْا فَإِنَّمَا عَلَيْكَ الْبَلَاغُ الْمُبِينُ

Then, if they turn away, yours is only to deliver clearly (16:82);

وَمَا عَلَى الرَّسُولِ إِلَّا الْبَلَاغُ الْمُبِينُ.

and the Messenger's only duty is to warn clearly (24:54 and 18:23);

طَهَ مَا أَنزَلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنَ لِتَشْقَى إِلَّا تَذْكِرَةً لِّمَن يَخْشَى.

Ṭā, Hā! We did not reveal the Qur'an to you for you to be miserable, but only as a reminder to him who fears (20:1–3);

فَذَكِّرْ بِالْقُرْءَانِ مَنْ يَخَافُ وَعِيدِ

Therefore remind by the Qur'an, him who fears My threat (50:45);

وَذَكِّرْ فَإِنَّ الذِّكْرَى تَنفَعُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

And remind; for reminder benefits the believers (51:55);

فَذَكِّرْ إِن نَّفَعَتِ الذِّكْرَى.

So remind, if the reminder benefits (87:9);

فَذَكِّرْ إِنَّمَا أَنتَ مُذَكِّرٌ لَّسْتَ عَلَيْهِم بِمُصَيْطِرٍ.

So remind, for you are only a reminder; [you are] not a warder over them (88:21–22).

In any case, all these verses mean: "Your duty, O Prophet is to remind; do not worry whether they truly believe or not! That is not in your hands. It is in God's Hand. Do not punish and annihilate yourself delivering the rules, do not be distressed by their polytheism and disbelief, and do not pity them!"

Clearer than all the above verses is

فَلَعَلَّكَ بَاخِعٌ نَّفْسَكَ عَلَىٰ آثَارِهِمْ إِن لَّمْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِهَٰذَا الْحَدِيثِ أَسَفًا

You are liable to imperil your life for their sake, if they should not believe this discourse, out of grief (18:6) and:

لَعَلَّكَ بَاخِعٌ نَّفْسَكَ أَلَّا يَكُونُوا مُؤْمِنِينَ

You are liable to imperil your life that they will not be believers (26:3).

Sūrat al-Tawbah ("Repentance") Was Revealed in 9 AH

The Prophet treated the hypocrites as Muslims, just like any others, until ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy died. But after he performed the funeral prayer for him and asked for forgiveness for him, the relevant verses from *Sūrat al-Tawbah* ("Repentance") were revealed:

وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰ أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم مَّاتَ أَبَدًا وَلَا تَقُمْ عَلَىٰ قَبْرِهِ إِنَّهُمْ كَفَرُوا بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَمَاتُوا وَهُمْ فَاسِقُونَ

And never pray over any one of them when he is dead, or stand over his grave; they disbelieved in God and His Messenger, and died while they were ungodly (9:84). Here, the verse pronounces ᶜAbdullāh and his ilk unbelievers, and forbids the Prophet henceforth from performing the funeral prayer for them. Similarly the following verse pronounces all hypocrites unbelievers:

اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ إِن تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَن يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ كَفَرُوا بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَاللَّهُ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْفَاسِقِينَ

Ask pardon for them, or ask not pardon for them; if you ask pardon for them seventy times, God will not pardon them; that, because they disbelieved in God and His Messenger (9:80). As we see, this verse was revealed later, explaining that asking forgiveness for them is not only futile but is henceforth prohibited!

Both these verses, 84 and 80, are from *Sūrat al-Tawbah* ("Repentance"), the chapter revealed about the Tabūk expedition in 9 AH. It lasted from Rajab to the month of Ramaḍān that year; ᶜAbdullāh Ibn

Ubayy died in the month of Dhī al-Qaʿdah the same year. Indubitably, on the basis of the context and clues in the Scripture, these two verses were revealed after ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy died.

When they say that "Repentance" was revealed about the Tabūk expedition, they mean that it was [also] revealed in the days and months preceding and following it, not that it was revealed in its entirety on that expedition. Obviously the verses encouraging people to go on the expedition had to have been revealed before the expedition itself, e.g.:

يا أيها الذين آمنوا ما لكم إذا قيل لكم انفروا في سبيل الله اثاقلتم إلى الارض.

O you who believe! What is the matter with you that when you are told: "Go forth in the way of God," you sink heavily to the ground)? (9:38)

إلا تنفروا يعذبكم عذابا أليما ويستبدل قوما غيركم.

If you go not forth, He will punish you with a painful punishment, and instead of you He will substitute another people; and you will not hurt Him anything, for God is powerful over everything (9:39).

انفروا خفافا وثقالا وجاهدوا بأموالكم وأنفسكم في سبيل الله.

Go forth, light and heavy, and strive with your wealth and your lives in the way of God! That is best for you if you but knew (9:41).

And it is also quite clear that the verses at the beginning of the chapter were revealed after the Tabūk expedition, for example:

براءة من الله ورسوله إلى الذين عاهدتم من المشركين. فسيحوا في الارض أربعة أشهر واعلموا أنكم غير معجزي الله وأن الله مخزي الكافرين. وأذان من الله ورسوله إلى الناس يوم الحج الاكبر أن الله بريء من المشركين ورسوله.

An acquittal from God and His Messenger, unto the idolaters with whom you made covenant: "Journey freely in the land for four months and know that you cannot frustrate the will of God, and that God disgraces the unbelievers." A proclamation from God and His Messenger to all the people on the day of the Greater Hajj, that God and His Messenger repudiate the polytheists... (9:1–3) up to:

إنما النسيء زيادة في الكفر يضل به الذين كفروا.

The month postponed is but an increase of disbelief whereby the unbelievers are led astray... (9:37).

All these verses were revealed in the same context, in Dhū al-Qaʿdah of that year. They address the pagans of Mecca and its environs. God's Messenger had originally sent Abū Bakr to recite it to the people during their *ḥajj* in Mecca. Then, by God's command, he dismissed Abū Bakr, replacing him with Imam Ali. His Holiness took the letter from Abū Bakr, went to Mecca, and at Mina, he read it to all the pagans gathered there.

To summarize the above, the Prophet only asked for forgiveness for the pagans and performed the funeral prayer for them before these verses, pronouncing hypocrites unbelievers, were revealed; throughout the time prior to that it was the Prophet's duty to perform the funeral prayer for anyone who was ostensibly a Muslim, and stand over his grave to ask forgiveness for him.

Secondly, the Prophet's action was not in breach of the Qurʾan, because the prohibition on performing the funeral prayer for hypocrites and on standing over their graves to ask forgiveness had not yet been revealed; that only happened after Ibn Ubayy's death and funeral at which the Prophet had officiated.

Thirdly, Omar's objection to the Prophet, in trying to stop him from performing the funeral prayer, was pure error and recklessness, because God's commandment not to perform the funeral prayer had not yet been revealed. What some Sunni narrations say—that Omar said: "Has God not forbidden you to perform the funeral prayer for the hypocrites?"—is a fabrication. Furthermore, it contradicts other hadiths they narrate, including the one that says that the Prophet had not traveled far from Medina before this verse:

وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰ أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم مَّاتَ أَبَدًا

And never pray over any one of them when he is dead was revealed.

What lawful or rational excuse did Omar have for confronting the Prophet and impeding him from achieving what he intended?! How dare he tug at the Prophet's cloak and stop him in front of thousands of senior Supporters from the Tribes of Aws and Khazraj, at a time when the Prophet had stepped up to a bier to perform the funeral prayer?! Even after the Prophet said: "Step away from me, Omar!" he paid no attention, and said: "On such-and-such a day Ibn Ubayy said such-and-such, so don't perform the funeral prayer for him!"

If the Prophet wanted to take action, Omar was most blameworthy for his outburst in front of everyone gathered, confronting the Prophet and stopping him from performing the funeral prayer.

Are you a Prophet, Omar? Are you Gabriel? Are you the Master, Omar, and the Prophet [your] servant?

Moreover, are you responsible for bearing all ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy's sins; are you afraid that if his sins are forgiven then they will become yours to bear? Does the Prophet, in spite of his elevated rank and position, err, but you do not?! Do you claim that you understand, and that his commandments are incorrect and muddled, but yours are correct and proper?!

Hence, in some Sunni hadiths, we see him admit to his mistakes, and that what he did was a lapse (*hafwah*)! We read in another that he is astounded at his own audacity towards the Prophet, as if to say: "How dare I stand before him, stop him, and pull his cloak!"

It is here that the Shiʿa school holds him to account for such acts, and considers such a blasphemous person unsuitable to be a Caliph, to be a transgressor and a usurper. His second breach was more severe and more grievous when the Prophet was on his death bed and [Omar] uttered those infamous words: "Surely this man is delirious!" His third breach was after the Prophet's death. [Omar], with his sword in hand, took Imam Ali to the mosque, to try to force him to swear allegiance and submit to his thoughts and those of his accomplices! The Shiʿa school believes that the Caliphate and Imamate are the right of the Infallible Imam, God's Messenger's true deputy!

No, we do not believe that all the Supporters and the Migrants were obedient servants to God's Messenger's command, only ever waiting for orders to be given and rushing to carry them out with their hearts and souls. Many of them were insolent rebels, with irreverent antagonistic tendencies! They were ungrateful to God and His Prophet for Islam. The Prophet had migrated from Mecca to Medina and faced a great many difficulties, to guide and help them. On the contrary, they made as if they were doing the Prophet a favor by embracing Islam, and by the Supporters' giving shelter to Muhammad and his fellow Migrants to Medina, and by doing such-and-such! If it were not for the Prophet Muhammad's great character—as the Qurʾan says:

وَإِنَّكَ لَعَلَىٰ خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ

and indeed you possess a great character (68:4)—they would all have forsaken him, and not adhered to Islam. It was only because he was an ocean of mercy. In fact, even the ocean is a truly inadequate metaphor for his greatness. It was he who had motivated and made compliant those arrogant, vexatious, rough Bedouins. He was what he was—forgiving, tolerant, self-sacrificing, and abundantly merciful like the

deep, wavy ocean unadulterated by any dog's mouth, and unchanged, unbrackished, unaffected, and unmuddied by any incidents or scandalous defamation!

ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy Used to Be a Strong Trench against Islam

ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy was a powerful man with great influence, and a fortune; his front gate was always wide open for needy members of the Khazraj. He considered himself to be their chief, and he also had influence over the Aws. He looked at the Prophet and the poor believers with disdain, contempt, and scorn! He could see the Prophet's tremendous spirit, elevated station, beauty through sincerity, and benevolence when on his own, and the pleasantness of his conciliatoriness and his behavior towards both God and the creatures. We find that in every time and place the majority or the masses flock around people like [ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy] who consider themselves to be the people's chiefs. So, if it were not the Prophet's greatness and tremendous patience in the face of what would have shaken a mountain, they would not let anyone embrace Islam.

The Prophet was constantly confronted by such people, so what could he do?! Could he sentence them to death? No, never! They would turn Medina against the Prophet, as they secretly did by collaborating with the Jews and the pagans; they incited them to rise against the Prophet and the believers.

The Prophet Could Not Punish ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy

The Prophet could not punish him for defaming Ayishe—it was he who had falsely accused her of committing adultery, and this story is told in the Qurʾan. Even though the punishment for falsely accusing any male or female believer of committing adultery had been revealed in the Qurʾan, and the Prophet normally applied it, he could not punish ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy for falsely accusing [the Prophet's] wife even though everyone knew it was a lie, because the Prophet's real companions were not strong enough to bring ʿAbdullāh before the Prophet to lash him; lashing him meant lashing all the other hypocrites, who were [ʿAbdullāh's] close companions, all for one and one for all, because ʿAbdullāh's social status was above a thousand common people's. Therefore, if he had been lashed, his supporters would have risen up against the Prophet, and against Islam. Each of them would have taken Ubayy's side, perjuring themselves, invalidating the punishment, making the false allegation and disgrace stick to the

Prophet's wife Ayishe for all time, even though she was not guilty in this case.

Mullā Ṣāliḥ Māzandarānī, in *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, says that even though after the Prophet's death, the Caliphate and Imamate was Imam Ali's right, he did not seek to take it back by force for seven reasons! The fifth of these was not being in a position to do so—just as the Prophet could not punish ʿAbdullāh for falsely accusing Ayishe.

Mullā Ṣāliḥ refutes a Sunni contention that if Imam Ali was in the right, why did he not begin an armed uprising after the Prophet's death? Taking back one's right is a duty. As the Prophet had appointed him as rightful successor (Caliph) and Imam, it was his legal and rational duty to rise up to take back his right from the usurpers! If not, he committed a sin by not doing his duty! However, because Ali did not commit sins, it means he did not begin an armed uprising because it was not his duty to do so, i.e. the Caliphate was not his Divine Right; Mullā Ṣāliḥ continues:

> Five: ʿAyāḍ, author of the commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, relates in the hadith about the lie (*al-ifk*) on the authority of one of your [Sunni] scholars that the Prophet did not lash ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy, the chief of the hypocrites, for falsely accusing the Prophet's wife Ayishe, because he had reservations and feared that lashing him would cause division and foment sedition! If it was permissible for the Prophet not to carry out a punishment, for fear of sedition, even though he had many aides and supporters, it was even more permissible for Imam Ali not to go to war and fight because he had no support.[399]

As this verse says:

وَإِنْ كَادُوا لَيَفْتِنُونَكَ عَنِ الَّذِي أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ لِتَفْتَرِيَ عَلَيْنَا غَيْرَهُ وَإِذًا لَاتَّخَذُوكَ خَلِيلًا ۔ وَلَوْلَا أَنْ ثَبَّتْنَاكَ لَقَدْ كِدْتَ تَرْكَنُ إِلَيْهِمْ شَيْئًا قَلِيلًا ۔ إِذًا لَأَذَقْنَاكَ ضِعْفَ الْحَيَاةِ وَضِعْفَ الْمَمَاتِ ثُمَّ لَا تَجِدُ لَكَ عَلَيْنَا نَصِيرًا.

Indeed they were near to seducing you from what We revealed to you, so that you might forge something else against Us, and then they would surely have taken you as a friend; and had We not fortified you, surely you might have inclined toward them a very little; then would We have let you taste the double of life and the double of death; and then you would have found none to help you against Us (17:73–75).

This verse is about the pagans' plot to beguile the Prophet to incline towards them with regard to the fundamentals of knowledge and Monotheism; that is, with regard to what God revealed. [The verse] has nothing to do with when the Prophet was not in a position

to apply rulings and laws. As we saw in the section on Ghadīr Khumm, God, through Gabriel, commanded the Prophet to announce the Master of the Faithful's appointment as Caliph and Imam. However, the Prophet was afraid of sedition in the nation, so he waited for a suitable opportunity to fulfill his task until the verse: *...and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message* (5:67) was revealed. The Prophet stopped the caravan at Ghadīr Khumm, and then delivered that beautiful sermon—may God bless you, O God's Messenger!

Indeed, we have discussed the Tabūk expedition in detail to make it clear what a situation the Prophet and the Master of the Faithful were in at that time, what with sedition, secret meetings held by the hypocrites, and their alliances against true Islam. And it becomes clear why, for the duration of the Tabūk expedition, the Prophet left Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib in charge of Medina, even though in all battles, Imam Ali would accompany the Prophet; he was the only standard-bearer, the sincere supporter, and defender of the Prophet in all battles. He was ready to die for the Prophet. So, the Prophet did not take him with him on this expedition, and instead, left him in charge of Medina, to quell seditions and foil the hypocrites' plots against Islam, so that the center of Islam, Medina, would not be taken over by them.

It was here that the Prophet told Imam Ali:

يا عَلِيُّ إِنَّ الْمَدِينَةَ لَا تَصْلُحُ إِلَّا بِي أَوْ بِكَ، أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي؟

"O Ali, Medina will not at peace without both me and you! Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me! Otherwise you would be a prophet after me! May God bless you, O Master of the Faithful!"

Discounting the Possibility That Anyone Else but Imam Ali Could Have Been Left in Charge of Medina throughout the Duration of the Tabūk Expedition

It is clear from the above that what Ṭabarī[400] and Ibn Athīr say in their chronicles,[401] that the Prophet left Sibāʿ Ibn ʿUrfuṭah Ghifārī in charge of Medina while he was away on the expedition, and what Ibn Kathīr,[402] Wāqidī[403] and Ibn Hishām[404] relate, that he left either Sibāʿ Ibn ʿUrfuṭah Ghifārī or Muhammad Ibn Maslamah Anṣārī[405] in charge of Medina, and only left Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib in charge of his

Household, is wholly incorrect, and contradicts irrefutable historical contextual evidence.

Firstly, as recorded in *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*: It is said (*qīl*) that [the Prophet] left Ibn Umm Maktūm in charge of the people of Medina, and it is said (*qīl*) that it was Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.[406] The uncertainty over which of the two proves that it is just a possibility, and it cannot rebut irrefutable evidence; uncertainty reduces evidence from certainty to mere possibility.

Secondly, Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr says in *al-Istīʿāb* that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's having been left in charge of Medina, and in charge of the Prophet's Household while he was away on the Tabūk expedition, is one of the most reliable and most authentic accounts.

In his book, Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr says in his biographical note on the Master of the Faithful:

> At the Battle of Badr, the Prophet entrusted the banner to Ali, who was a young man of twenty—Sarrāj says so in his chronicle. And since the Prophet's move to Medina, Ali was not absent from a single battle fought by the Prophet, except the Battle of Tabūk, because the Prophet had left him in charge of Medina and of his Household while he was away on the expedition. Ali's Guardianship of Medina is one of the most reliable and most authentic accounts. [The Prophet] told Ali:
>
> أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي
>
> "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me!" The Status Hadith is one of the most reliable and authentic hadiths, and it is related by many routes from Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ from the Prophet. Ibn Abī Khaythamah and others list the routes; Ibn ʿAbbās, Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, Umm Salamah, Asmāʾ, the daughter of ʿUmays, Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh, and several others, too numerous to mention, also narrate it.[407]

Ali Ibn Burhān al-Dīn Ḥalabī Shāfiʿī, the author of a biography [of the Prophet], says after referring to Muhammad Ibn Maslamah, Sibāʿ Ibn ʿUrfuṭah, and Ibn Umm Maktūm: "Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr says: 'The Prophet left Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib in charge of Medina, and this [statement] is more reliable and more correct.'"[408]

Shaykh Mufīd says:

> As God's Messenger wanted to leave Medina for Tabūk
>
> اسْتَخْلَفَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فِي أَهْلِهِ وَوُلْدِهِ وَأَزْوَاجِهِ وَمُهَاجِرِهِ وَقَالَ لَهُ: يَا عَلِيُّ! إِنَّ الْمَدِينَةَ لَا تَصْلُحُ إِلَّا بِي أَوْ بِكَ!

he left Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib in charge of his family, his offspring, his wives, and the places to which he had migrated, and said to him: "O Ali, Medina would not be at peace without both me and you!" [That is, it would descend into disorder without either of us.]

It is because the Prophet knew the ill intentions of the Bedouins and many inhabitants of Medina and its environs, who had raided them and spilled their blood, and now he was worried that by his leaving Medina on its own, they would rebel and capture the town. And he was afraid that if he did not assign a capable deputy in Medina, they would assault his Household that he was leaving behind and would do any ugly things possible to the others! So, the Prophet knew that no one else but Imam Ali was capable of protecting Medina from the shame, corruption, and dishonor that they could cause his people and family. No one else but Imam Ali could take his place, frighten the enemy, defend the place to which he had migrated, and protect its inhabitants. Therefore, he left Ali manifestly in charge, and made it abundantly clear that he would be the Imam after him.

That is, insofar as the hadiths corroborate each other in saying that when the hypocrites found out that the Prophet had left Imam Ali in charge of Medina, they envied him. And after the Prophet had left, Imam Ali's status was too much for them! They knew that they were under Imam Ali's supervision, so the enemy had no hope!

As the hypocrites had in mind to destroy the entire town and assault the Muslims remaining in the town, they wished the Prophet had taken Ali with him, and left the town at their mercy. They also envied the prospect of his sitting comfortably at home while they would be embarking on an arduous and dangerous expedition! Therefore, they began gossiping and spreading rumors that the Prophet had only left Ali in charge because he found him tedious, and not out of love, esteem, and respect for him!

The false rumors that they spread about Ali were too much for him; they were similar to the lies spread by Quraysh about the Prophet—that he was mad, or a poet, or a magician, or a soothsayer—even though they knew full well that he was not! Similarly, the hypocrites knew full well that the rumors they were spreading about Imam Ali were baseless! They knew full well that Ali loved the Prophet more than he loved anyone else, and that he in turn was the most beloved one to the Prophet, and was in his sight the most pious and successful.

When Imam Ali heard these rumors, he decided to disprove them, to disgrace the hypocrites publicly, so he went to the Prophet and said to him: "O God's Messenger, the hypocrites claim that you have left me in charge because you find me tedious and hate me!"

فَقَالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: ارْجِعْ يا أَخِي إِلَى مَكَانِكَ، فَإِنَّ الْمَدِينَةَ لَا تَصْلُحُ إِلَّا بِي أَوْ بِكَ، فَأَنْتَ خَلِيفَتِي فِي أَهْلِ بَيْتِي وَدَارِ هِجْرَتِي وَقَوْمِي، أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي؟[409]

So the Prophet said to [Ali]: "O my brother, return to your place, because Medina will not be at peace without both me and you! For you are my deputy in charge of my Household, the home of my migration, and my people! Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses; except that there is no prophet after me?!"

Incontrovertible Evidence of Imam Ali's Being Left in Charge of Medina during the Tabūk Expedition

And thirdly, the words that the Prophet said to Imam Ali, or those on the authority of narrators, prove that the Imam was left in charge of all the people of Medina, for example Abū Dāwūd Ṭayālisī's hadith in his *Musnad*, from Shuʿbah, from Ḥakam, from Muṣʿab Ibn Saʿd, from Saʿd, [who] said:

خَلَّفَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ فِي غَزْوَةِ تَبُوكَ، فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، أَتُخَلِّفُنِي فِي النِّسَاءِ وَالصِّبْيَانِ؟! قَالَ: أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي؟![410]

"For the duration of the Tabūk expedition, God's Messenger left Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib behind as a deputy, so [Ali] said: 'O God's Messenger, are you leaving me behind among the women and children?' So the [Prophet] asked: 'Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no Prophet after me!'"

First of all, the word *khallafa* is unqualified, meaning he was left in charge of everybody; most particularly Ibn Isḥāq's hadith says that the Prophet's reply was: "The hypocrites are lying. On the contrary, I have left you in charge of what I have left behind";[411] clearly this sentence is not only unqualified; rather it is general and applies to all the affairs of Medina, and to everything that all its people would need.

Secondly, the sentence "Medina would not be at peace without both me and you" clearly means he was left in charge of the whole of Medina.

Moreover, *Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm* says: "And he put the Master of the Faithful in charge of Medina (*wa khallafa amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi al-salām al-madīnah*)."[412] And then, when Imam Ali went to the

Prophet to complain about the hypocrites, the Prophet asked him: "O Ali, did I not leave you in charge of Medina?"

Fourthly, we saw in Shaykh Mufīd's hadith that the Prophet said: "So, you are my deputy among my Household, the home of my migration, and my relatives."[413] This sentence is also general and refers to all.

Fifthly, Shaykh Ṭabrisī relates:

واستعمل على المدينة عليا وقال: إنه لا بد للمدينة مني أو منك

"And he appointed Ali as governor of Medina and said: 'Medina has to have either you or me.'"[414] He has also narrated:

إما أن تخرج أنت ويقيم علي وإما أن يخرج علي وتقيم أنت.

"[O Muhammad,] either you leave and Ali stays, or Ali leaves and you stay."[415]

And finally, Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī says:

وقال له في غزوة تبوك: أنت مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى إلا أنك لست بنبي، أي لا ينبغي أن أذهب إلا وأنت خليفتي.[416]

"And concerning the Battle of Tabūk, [the Prophet] told [Ali]: 'You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that you are not a prophet! That is, I should not set off unless you stay behind as my deputy.'"

This wording, similar to the previous ones, clearly shows that Imam Ali was left in charge of all the affairs of [all] the people. This interpretation can be inferred from the comparison between Ali's status and Aaron's in relation to Moses. Just as Moses was not permitted to go to Mount Sinai without leaving his brother Aaron in charge of his nation, I am not allowed to go to Tabūk without leaving you in charge as my deputy, Ali!

However, it seems that it was a slip or deliberate mistake by some narrators and historians who relate the appointment of a different deputy—not Imam Ali—when the Prophet was leaving for the Battle of Tabūk, even though they concede that the Imam was left in charge of the Prophet's Household and concede the Status Hadith. This slip or deliberate mistake is because the Prophet had left others in charge, such as Sibāʿ Ibn ʿUrfuṭah, Muhammad Ibn Maslamah, and Ibn Umm Maktūm when he was away at other battles, or on the Farewell Pilgrimage or the Ḥudaybiyyah *ʿumrah*. Alternatively, it was a slip or deliberate mistake made by some biographers whose malintent is evident from their biographies—they have contaminated authentic and proven history. The first narrator falsified, and then the later ones

copied him, either in support of his treachery or through inadvertence and failure to apply anxious scrutiny to authentic biography and history. Later scholars have relied on what they said, passing it on one to the next, generation after generation, to the point that the author of a biography of the Prophet in Persian says: "Even though he [the Prophet] left Muhammad Ibn Maslamah in charge of Medina, he said to Ali: 'You are in charge of (*khalīfatī fī*) my Household, my relatives, and the Migrants, and no one but you or me is capable of this.'"

And it is very regrettable that a pious and sincere Shi'ite who has written his book to serve Islamic culture and Muslims has been so careless over this point, and inadvertently corrupted confirmed history, in accordance with the whims of hadith-forgers who set to work after Ali had been condemned and confined to his home!

The reason for this [Persian biographer's] mistake is the narrow-mindedness of some of the aforementioned Sunni chronicles, [the biographer's own] failure to research fully all the opinions in all Sunni sources, and his failure to research biographies and historical sources by Shi'a scholars.

The most important point is that our writers should not use Sunni books as primary sources for their studies, rely on their opinions, and cite their books and scholars without consideration of biographies written by the Shi'a. It is highly detrimental and a great loss because the essence of the Shi'a school will be turned upside-down. Shi'ism has only been able to show its true face through thousands of difficulties, and only after the loss of many lives, with all the lies and accusations [against the Shi'a], and killings and torture [of Shi'a], has it been able to expose the truth and refute and banish falsehood.

Therefore, praise be to God, in our work, in these series of books, we have used reliable Shi'a sources as primary sources, and only used hadiths from Sunni sources to corroborate on the one hand, and on the other hand by way of using the opponent in debate's own evidence and axiomatic premises against him—a valid debating strategy. As the saying goes: True merit is that to which the opponents testify.[417] As the Qur'an says:

وَجَادِلْهُم بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ

dispute with them in a manner which is best (16:125);[418] this is the methodology of our discussion, firstly, teaching people true fundamentals and knowledge based on indisputable givens, giving theological lessons, and imparting knowledge by way of rational demonstration that uses indisputable, incontrovertible matters as both its minor and

major premises, and secondly shows the opponent the weaknesses in his own argument, forcing him to concede.

ᶜAllāmah Amīnī only wrote *al-Ghadīr* to refute Sunni opinions, forcing them to concede the Master of the Faithful's righteous and immediate successorship to the Prophet as Imam, Master, and executor, and to demolish his opponents' school; he did not write it for the Shiᶜa, who should rather learn their fundamentals from purpose-written sources. That is why this work is only of polemic value. Furthermore, it relies exclusively on Sunni books and sources.

Similarly, ᶜAllāmah Sayyid Muhammad Qulī authored *Tashyīd al-Maṭāᶜīn*[419] to refute *al-Tuḥfah al-Ithnā ᶜAshariyyah*, and forced himself to rely exclusively on Sunni hadiths and sources. Otherwise his book would not have been able to fulfil its role as a rebuttal of *al-Tuḥfah*.

ᶜAllāmah Mīr Husayn Ḥindī Nīshābūrī wrote his noble book *ᶜAbaqāt al-Anwar*[420] to refute *al-Tuḥfah al-ᶜAzīziyyah*, which is the same book—*al-Tuḥfah al-Ithnā ᶜAshariyyah*. [The ᶜAllāmah] had no recourse but to rely exclusively on Sunni sources, making them understand what their own books say are incontrovertible givens.

Similarly ᶜAllāmah Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn ᶜĀmilī's books, such as *al-Murājaᶜāt*, *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah* and *Abū Hurayrah*, follow the same methodology, showing the way to the truth by referring exclusively to reliable Sunni sources, forcing the opponent to concede.

However, those who do not write their books as refutations, but rather to guide all Muslims—no matter whether they are Shiᶜa or Sunni—and even non-Muslims, have to base their books on the premises of rational demonstration and axiomatic premises from reliable sources and satisfactory scholars who are distanced from ignorant fanaticism.

In any case, returning to our main point, that there is no doubt that the Master of the Faithful was left in charge of the whole of Medina throughout the duration of the Tabūk expedition, even Ibn Taymiyyah Ḥarrānī, who is the fiercest critic of prophetic hadiths in praise of Imam Ali, is unable to fault ᶜAllāmah Ḥillī's reliance on this hadith. He finds fault in other matters instead. By way of clarification:

ᶜAmr Ibn Maymūn's Hadith as Narrated by ᶜAllāmah Ḥillī

Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal narrates in his *Musnad* from Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥammād, from Abū ᶜAwānah, from Abū Balj, from ᶜAmr Ibn Maymūn, [who] said:

I was sitting with Ibn ʿAbbās when nine men came to us saying: "O Ibn ʿAbbās! Either leave with us and let us talk elsewhere, or move aside with us away from these people." Ibn ʿAbbās replied: "I will rather leave with you." [Ibn Maymūn says:] At that time, he could still see (*wa huwa yawma'idhin ṣaḥīḥ*) and had not yet gone blind.

So they went away with Ibn ʿAbbās and spoke, and we did not know what they were saying.

فَجَاءَ يَنْفُضُ ثَوْبَهُ وَيَقُولُ: أُفٌّ وَتُفٍّ لِرَجُلٍ لَهُ عَشْرٌ، وَتُفٍّ لِرَجُلٍ

1- قَالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ: لَأَبْعَثَنَّ رَجُلًا لَا يُخْزِيهِ اللهُ أَبَدًا يُحِبُّ اللهَ وَرَسُولَهُ

قَالَ: فَاسْتَشْرَفَ لَهَا مَنِ اسْتَشْرَفَ. قَالَ: أَيْنَ عَلِيٌّ؟ قَالُوا: هُوَ فِي الرَّحْلِ يَطْحَنُ، قَالَ: وَمَا كَانَ أَحَدُكُمْ

لِيَطْحَنَ؟ قَالَ فَجَاءَ وَهُوَ أَرْمَدُ لَا يَكَادُ يُبْصِرُ. قَالَ: فَنَفَثَ فِي عَيْنَيْهِ، ثُمَّ هَزَّ الرَّايَةَ ثَلَاثًا، فَأَعْطَاهَا إِيَّاهُ،

فَجَاءَ بِصَفِيَّةَ بِنْتِ حُيَيٍّ.

Thereafter, Ibn ʿAbbās came [back] to us, dusting off his robe, and saying:

> Fie and phew! They have defamed a man who has ten [remarkable attributes]. They have defamed a man (1) about whom the Prophet said: "I will most surely send a man whom God will never disgrace, who loves God and His Messenger."
>
> Everyone then looked up at that (*fa [i]stashrafa lahā man istashraf*)!
>
> [The Prophet] asked: "Where is Ali?" They replied he was at the stopover, grinding.
>
> [The Prophet] asked: "Was there no one [else] among you to grind?"

[Ibn ʿAbbās] said: "Thereafter [Ali] came along suffering from ophthalmia, hardly able to see anything." [Ibn ʿAbbās] said: "[The Prophet] spat in his eyes, and then waved the banner three times and handed it [to Ali], and [Ali] brought back Ṣafiyyah, the daughter of Ḥuyayy."

2- قَالَ: ثُمَّ بَعَثَ فُلَانًا بِسُورَةِ التَّوْبَةِ، فَبَعَثَ عَلِيًّا خَلْفَهُ، فَأَخَذَهَا مِنْهُ. قَالَ: لَا يَذْهَبُ بِهَا إِلَّا رَجُلٌ

مِنِّي وَأَنَا مِنْهُ.

(2) [Ibn ʿAbbās] said:

> And after that he sent So-and-So (Abū Bakr) with *Sūrat al-Tawbah* ("Repentance"); then he sent Ali after him, and he took away [this

Chapter] from him. [The Prophet] said: "No one but a man of my kind and of whose kind I am should take [this chapter]."

3- قَالَ: وَقَالَ لِبَنِي عَمِّهِ: أَيُّكُمْ يُوَالِينِي فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ؟ قَالَ: وَعَلِيٌّ مَعَهُ جَالِسٌ، فَأَبَوْا. وَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَنَا أُوَالِيكَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ، قَالَ: أَنْتَ وَلِيِّي فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ. قَالَ: فَتَرَكَهُ ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَى رَجُلٍ مِنْهُمْ فَقَالَ: أَيُّكُمْ يُوَالِينِي فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ؟ فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَنَا أُوَالِيكَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ، فَقَالَ: أَنْتَ وَلِيِّي فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ. وَكَانَ أَوَّلَ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ مِنَ النَّاسِ بَعْدَ خَدِيجَةَ.

(3) [Ibn ʿAbbās] said: "And he said to his paternal cousins: 'Which one of you will be my nearest (*yuwālīnī*) [be such that there is no veil between us, and be with me in ease and hardship like my own self, and be responsible for my affairs] in this world and the Hereafter?'"

[Ibn ʿAbbās] said: "Ali was sitting next to [the Prophet], and they all declined, but Ali said: 'I will be your nearest, both in this word and the Hereafter!' [The Prophet] said: 'You will be my nearest in this world and the Hereafter!'"

[Ibn ʿAbbās] said: "He left them and then approached one of them and asked: 'Which of you will be my nearest in this world and the Hereafter?' So Ali said: 'I will be your nearest in this world and the Hereafter!' [The Prophet] then said: 'You are my nearest (*walī*) in this world and the Hereafter.' And Ali was the first person to embrace Islam after Khadījah."

4- قَالَ: وَأَخَذَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ ثَوْبَهُ فَوَضَعَهُ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ وَفَاطِمَةَ وَحَسَنٍ وَحُسَيْنٍ، فَقَالَ: إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا.

(4) He said: "God's Messenger took his robe and spread it over Ali, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, and then said: *God only wants to put away any impurity from you, the Household, and to purify you* (33:33)."

5- قَالَ: وَشَرَى عَلِيٌّ نَفْسَهُ لَبِسَ ثَوْبَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ ثُمَّ نَامَ مَكَانَهُ قَالَ: وَكَانَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ يَرْمُونَ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ فَجَاءَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَعَلِيٌّ نَائِمٌ قَالَ: وَأَبُو بَكْرٍ يَحْسَبُ أَنَّهُ نَبِيُّ اللهِ. قَالَ: فَقَالَ: يَا نَبِيَّ اللهِ! قَالَ: فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: إِنَّ نَبِيَّ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ قَدِ انْطَلَقَ نَحْوَ بِئْرِ مَيْمُونٍ فَأَدْرِكْهُ، قَالَ: فَانْطَلَقَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ فَدَخَلَ مَعَهُ الْغَارَ. قَالَ: وَجُعِلَ عَلِيٌّ يُرْمَى بِالْحِجَارَةِ كَمَا يُرْمَى نَبِيُّ اللهِ وَهُوَ يَتَضَوَّرُ قَدْ لَفَّ رَأْسَهُ فِي الثَّوْبِ لَا يَخْرُجُ حَتَّى أَصْبَحَ، ثُمَّ كَشَفَ عَنْ رَأْسِهِ فَقَالُوا: إِنَّكَ لَلَئِيمٌ كَانَ صَاحِبُكَ نُرَامِيهِ فَلَا يَتَضَوَّرُ وَأَنْتَ تَتَضَوَّرُ وَقَدِ اسْتَنْكَرْنَا ذَلِكَ.

(5) He said:

> Ali "sold himself"; he wore the Prophet's clothes (*thawb*) and lay down on his bed [as a decoy]; the unbelievers used to throw [stones] at God's Messenger. Abū Bakr came in when Ali was lying there; Abū Bakr said, thinking it was God's Prophet: "O God's Prophet!" So Ali said to him: "God's Prophet has set off towards the Well of Maymūn, so catch up with him!"

[Ibn ʿAbbās] said:

> Abū Bakr then set off and entered the cave with him. And Ali began having stones thrown at him just as God's Prophet had done. [Ali] was wincing and had wrapped his head in the cloak, not poking it out until he woke up in the morning. He then showed his face (*raʾs*), and the enemies cried out: "You are really low! We would throw [stones] at your Master (*ṣāḥib*), and he would never wince, but you winced, and we disparaged you for that!"

6- قَالَ: وَخَرَجَ النَّاسُ فِي غَزْوَةِ تَبُوكَ. قَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: أَخْرُجُ مَعَكَ؟! قَالَ: فَقَالَ لَهُ نَبِيُّ اللهِ: لَا، فَبَكَى عَلِيٌّ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّكَ لَسْتَ بِنَبِيٍّ! إِنَّهُ لَا يَنْبَغِي أَنْ أَذْهَبَ إِلَّا وَأَنْتَ خَلِيفَتِي!

(6) He said: "The people set off on the Tabūk expedition." [Ibn ʿAbbās] said: "And Ali asked him: 'Shall I set off with you?'" [Ibn ʿAbbās] said: "God's Prophet said: 'No,' so Ali wept. [The Prophet] then told him: 'Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that you are not a Prophet? In fact, I should not go unless you are in charge in my [absence]!'"

7- قَالَ: وَقَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ: أَنْتَ وَلِيِّي فِي كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ بَعْدِي!

(7) [Ibn ʿAbbās] said: "And God's Messenger told him: 'You are the Master appointed by me (*waliyyi*) over every believer after I am gone (*min baʿdī*).'"

8- وَقَالَ: سُدُّوا أَبْوَابَ الْمَسْجِدِ غَيْرَ بَابِ عَلِيٍّ فَقَالَ: فَيَدْخُلُ الْمَسْجِدَ جُنُبًا وَهُوَ طَرِيقُهُ لَيْسَ لَهُ طَرِيقٌ غَيْرُهُ.

(8) [Ibn ʿAbbās] said: "And [the Prophet] said: 'Block up all the doors leading to the mosque, except Ali's door!' And Ali would enter the mosque in a state of major impurity, because it was his only route; he had no other route."

9- قَالَ: وَقَالَ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَإِنَّ مَوْلَاهُ عَلِيٌّ.

(9) [Ibn ʿAbbās] said: "And [the Prophet] said: 'Whoever's Master I am, so too is Ali his Master!'"

10- قَالَ: وَأَخْبَرَنَا اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ فِي الْقُرْآنِ أَنَّهُ قَدْ رَضِيَ عَنْهُمْ عَنْ أَصْحَابِ الشَّجَرَةِ فَعَلِمَ مَا فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ هَلْ حَدَّثَنَا أَنَّهُ سَخِطَ عَلَيْهِمْ بَعْدُ؟ قَالَ وَقَالَ نَبِيُّ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ: لِعُمَرَ حِينَ قَالَ: ائْذَنْ لِي فَلِأَضْرِبَ عُنُقَهُ قَالَ: أَوَكُنْتَ فَاعِلًا؟! وَمَا يُدْرِيكَ لَعَلَّ اللهَ قَدِ اطَّلَعَ عَلَى بَدْرٍ فَقَالَ: اعْمَلُوا مَا شِئْتُمْ؟

(10) [Ibn ᶜAbbās] said: "And God, the Honorable and Exalted, has informed us that He is satisfied with them, with those who pledged allegiance under the tree (*aṣḥāb al-shajarah*); so He knew what was in their hearts; did He tell us that He was angry with them thereafter?!"

[Ibn ᶜAbbās] said: "When Omar said to [the Prophet]: 'Let me behead him [Ḥātib Ibn Abī Baltaᶜah],' God's Prophet said to him: 'And would you [really] do [so]?! How do you know? Perhaps God has looked upon the Badr veterans, and said: *Do what you will* (41:40).'"[421]

In the book of *Minhāj al-Karāmah*, ᶜAllāmah Ḥillī narrates this hadith, omitting the hadith on the authority of ᶜAmr Ibn Maymūn, but does say after God's Messenger's words:

من كنت مولاه فهذا علي مولاه

"Whoever's Master I am, so too is this Ali his Master":

وعَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ مَيْمُون

And on the authority of ᶜAmr Ibn Maymūn[422].

Ibn Taymiyyah's Fabrication and Deceit in the Book *Minhāj al-Sunnah*

In the book *Minhāj al-Sunnah*, Ibn Taymiyyah relates this hadith, with a comment at the end under the heading "Narration by the ᶜAllāmah attributed to the Prophet (*marfūᶜah*),"[423] and he quotes the ᶜAllāmah by saying: "The Shiᶜite (*al-rāfiḍī*) says";[424] and he begins answering it by saying:

It does not have a chain of transmission (*ghayr musnadah*). Rather it is without a chain (*mursalah*) even if it can be confirmed to be from ᶜAmr Ibn Maymūn. Furthermore, there are in the narration words falsely attributed to God's Prophet, for example: "I should not go unless you are in charge in my absence (*illā wa anta khalīfatī*)!"

This is because on many occasions the Prophet set off, leaving someone else—not Ali—in charge of Medina. For example, when he performed the minor pilgrimage of Ḥudaybiyyah, Ali was with him, and someone

else was left in charge in [the Prophet's] absence. When he fought the Battle of Khaybar, Ali was with him and someone else was left in charge of Medina. When he retook [Mecca] (*ghazā ghazwat al-fatḥ*), Ali was with him and someone else was left in charge of Medina. When he fought at Ḥunayn and Ṭā'if, Ali was with him and someone else was left in charge of Medina. When he performed the Farewell Pilgrimage, Ali was with him and someone else was left in charge of Medina. When he fought the Battle of Badr, Ali was with him and someone else was left in charge of Medina. All of this is known by authentic chains of transmission, as all hadith scholars unanimously agree. And in most battles, even those in which there was no fighting, Ali was with him...

For the duration of the Tabūk expedition, Ali was only left in charge of the women, children, sick, and poor whom God had excused, and in charge of the three men who had been left behind and were accused of hypocrisy; at that time Medina was peaceful, and there was no fear for its inhabitants, and the one left in charge by the Prophet was not needed for *jihād*.

ʿAllāmah Amīnī says in response:

This man [Ibn Taymiyyah] should rather have deprived scholars of having to look at his book, and only allowed it to the prepubescent masses—it is not known which is greater, their height or their breadth—because scholars' scrutiny of [this book] exposes his disgrace and makes it clear to everyone how in need he is of knowledge, and how he is inclined away from honesty and truthfulness. His charlatanry and his fabrication and adulteration of facts are all obvious. It is highly possible that it went to his head the day he was first addressed as Shaykh al-Islam. And he thought that the nation would accept whatever he said as axiomatic principles without questioning him! Because he fails so miserably, and his hopes are dashed, let us scrutinize his ambling around this hadith, and what clamor and tumult he raises!

Ibn Taymiyyah's Lie; It Was in Fact a Dire Necessity for Imam Ali to be Left in Charge of Medina for the Duration of the Tabūk Expedition

The first lie he told was to say that this hadith does not have a chain of narration (*mursal* or *laysa bi musnad*)!

It is as if his eyes have been blinkered to the chain provided by the Imam of his own school, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, because he cites it in volume 1, page 331 on the authority of Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥammād, from Abū ʿAwānah, from Abū Balj, from ʿAmr Ibn Maymūn, from Ibn ʿAbbās!

The narrators of this hadith are all narrators of authentic narrations, except Abū Balj, who is reliable according to hadith memorizers (*ḥuffāẓ*), as the biographical note on him says.

Moreover, Ḥāfiẓ Nasā'ī relates this hadith via an authentic chain made up entirely of reliable narrators in *al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, p. 7, as do Ḥākim in *Mustadrak*, volume 2, page 132, and Ḥākim Dhahabī and Ṭabarānī. Ḥāfiẓ Haythamī cites it in *Majmaᶜ al-Zawā'id* and considers it to be authentic. The same applies to Abū Yaᶜlā, according to *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, and Ibn ᶜAsākir quotes it in *al-Arbaᶜīn al-Ṭuwāl*. Ibn Ḥajar cites it in *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, p. 509, as do a number of others to whom we have referred in vol. 1, p. 51.

So what excuse does this man have for claiming that this hadith has no chain of transmission and denying its unbroken, authentic, confirmed chain? Is this the way to treat prophetic trusts? Is this how a hand that has been trusted manipulates the Sunnah, knowledge, and the religion?

Even more surprisingly, this man then turns on some parts of the hadith, trying to refute it and brand it a lie! This includes the Prophet's words:

لَا يَنْبَغِي أَنْ أَذْهَبَ إِلَّا وَأَنْتَ خَلِيفَتِي.

"I should not go, unless you are in charge in my [absence]." And he considers it to be a fabrication, reasoning that the Prophet had set off time and again, leaving someone else other than Ali in charge of Medina.

Anyone who researches and analyzes it fully will realize that the departure from Medina on the Tabūk expedition was a unique situation—it cannot be compared with any other. This is because the Prophet knew that there would be no fighting; the people of Medina desperately needed Imam Ali's deputy leadership because people in Medina had an inflated opinion of the greatness of the Byzantine emperor, Heraclius, and the size of his army. They thought that the Prophet and his companions were no match for them; that is why the hypocrites who stayed behind did so. And the most probable thing to befall Medina was that in the absence of the Prophet, the hypocrites would incite the people to rise against him, and mislead the people into believing that the enemy army was approaching their town to fight, kill, and capture them!

Hence, because of the situation in Medina, Imam Ali had to be left in charge of Medina to avert disaster—he was known for his bravery, strength, and strictness. Every other time, Imam Ali was alongside the Prophet on his travels, whether during wartime or peacetime. So Imam Ali was not absent from a single battle alongside the Prophet except the Tabūk expedition;[425] this is the consensus of all writers, as Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī says in *al-Tadhkirah*, page 12.

A researcher can infer as much from what the Prophet said to Imam Ali: "The hypocrites are lying, because I have left you in charge of what I have left,"[426] and similarly the authentic hadith that says that when he was setting off on the Tabūk expedition, he told Imam Ali: "Either I or you have to stay." So he left him in charge.[427]

Now that you know all this, you should not fail to understand that the Prophet's words

لَا يَنْبَغِي أَنْ أَذْهَبَ إِلَّا وَأَنْتَ خَلِيفَتِي[428]

"I should not go unless I leave you in charge" only refer to this battle, and not to every time the Prophet left Medina.

Therefore, the contention raised by this man (Ibn Taymiyyah)—that the Prophet had left others in charge in Medina while he was away fighting other battles—is wholly irrelevant, because at no other times did the hypocrites spread rumors and incite civil unrest; Imam Ali was needed more in the battles, because there was no man equal to Ali to fight the enemies' champions.

Every time the Prophet set off to fight, he had to decide which was of greater benefit—taking Ali with him or leaving him in charge in his absence.

Moreover, this man [Ibn Taymiyyah] tries to belittle this deputyship. He says that for the duration of the Tabūk expedition, the Imam was only left in charge of the children, women, and elderly, and so on; however, the lens of scrutiny remagnifies it back to what it really was.

The Reasons ʿAllāmah Amīnī Gives for the Importance of the Meaning of the Status Hadith

One: The Prophet said:

أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى؟

This predicates of Imam Ali all the Prophet's position, rank, and capacity to act, move, rule, lead, and control; the only exception is Prophethood,[429] just as everything predicated of Moses was predicated of Aaron. Therefore, this position is the position of the Prophet's Caliph, putting Ali in his position, and not, as some people have thought, a mere appointment of Ali as governor of Medina.

Before the Tabūk expedition, the Prophet had appointed some people as governors of various towns and cities, and others as governors of Medina; he had also appointed various men as commanders of his armies. However, he never said to any of them what he said to Ali in this instance; so this is the highest honor exclusive to the Master of the Faithful.

Two: What the Prophet said according to Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ's' hadith, *supra*:

كَذَبُوا وَلَكِنْ خَلَّفْتُكَ لِمَا وَرَائِي.

"They are lying. On the contrary I have left you in charge of what I have left behind me." It was when some of the hypocrites were mocking Ali's deputyship. As we said, the Prophet can only have had in mind concern over false rumors being spread in Medina during his absence; Imam Ali was being left to protect the religion itself from being torn apart by the hypocrites' ambling. Someone was needed to take a hard line, and no one else but Ali was up to the task.

Three: According to Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib and Zayd Ibn Arqam's hadith, when setting off on the Tabūk expedition, the Prophet said to Ali:

إِنَّهُ لَابُدَّ مِنْ أَنْ أَقِيمَ أَوْ تُقِيمَ خَلِيفَتِي[430]

"Either I or you have to stay." He then left him in charge.

This means that Imam Ali's staying was equivalent to the Prophet's staying as far as defense of religion and wiping out the enemies and the troublemakers' stigma was concerned. So it was the same whichever of the two undertook it, not to mention what this says about level and status!

Four: The authentic hadith narrated from Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ says:

وَاللهِ لَأَنْ يَكُونَ لِي وَاحِدَةٌ مِنْ خِصَالِ ثَلَاثٍ أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَنْ يَكُونَ لِي مَا طَلَعَتْ عَلَيْهِ الشَّمْسُ. لَأَنْ يَكُونَ قَالَ لِي مَا قَالَ لَهُ حِينَ رَدَّهُ مِنْ تَبُوكَ: أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي، أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَنْ يَكُونَ لِي مَا طَلَعَتْ عَلَيْهِ الشَّمْسُ ـ الحديث[431]

> "By God, if I had just one of these three attributes, it would be dearer to me than everything over which the sun rises. If [the Prophet] had said to me what he said to [Ali] when he relieved him of [the] Tabūk [expedition]: "Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?" it would be dearer to me than everything over which the sun rises.

Here, ʿAllāmah Amīnī relates the same hadith from *Murūj al-Dhahab* as we did in this volume. He then he says:

> Hadith memorizers confirm that it is authentically narrated that Muʿāwiyah gave Saʿd an order, saying: "What is stopping you from vilifying Abū Turāb?!" [Saʿd] said [in reply]:

> Lo! Do I not remember three things that God's Messenger said to Ali? So I will never vilify him; if just one of them were about me, it would be dearer to me than all the red camels! I heard God's Messenger say to Ali when he left [Ali] behind as deputy during the Tabūk expedition... Ali had said: "O God's Messenger. Are you leaving me behind with the women and children?!" So God's Messenger answered him:
>
> أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى؛ إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي؟[432]
>
> "Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?"

Similarly, after quoting from Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, volume 8, page 77,[433] the same hadith as we quoted in this book, from Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, he says:

> This, which Saʿd considered to be great, on a par with the hadith about the banner [at Khaybar], his being married to the infallible truthful one, as instructed by Mighty God, which are two of the highest honors that Muʿāwiyah thinks would have stopped him from fighting Ali, and instead made him serve Ali for life, had to have been of the level we have described such as to merit Saʿd's saying they would be dearer to him than everything over which the sun rises or than all his red camels. And to warrant Muʿāwiyah's claiming he would have served Ali for life, it had to have been a greater honor than being left in charge of the [Prophet's] family as is the function of service, or being appointed as a spy on the hypocrites to collect intelligence on them as per the function of the lowest class employed by the government!
>
> Five: What Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib said after hearing the Status Hadith from Ibrāhīm and ʿĀmir, sons of Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ: "So I was not content, and I wanted to hear it directly from Saʿd himself, so I went straight to him and asked: 'What is this hadith your son has related to me?' Saʿd stuck his fingers in his ears and said: 'I heard from God's Messenger, and if not, may [my ears] go deaf!'"[434]
>
> What did Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib consider to be so great about this hadith, that he had to follow it with Saʿd himself even after hearing it from his son? And then Saʿd also emphasized it that way! Is it possible that he understood the same greatness in its meaning as we did?
>
> Six: Imam Abū Basṭām Shuʿbat Ibn Ḥajjāj said in his hadith: "Aaron was the best out of Moses's nation, so Ali had to have been the best out of the whole of Prophet Muhammad's nation for this explicit instruction to

maintain its integrity. As Moses said to his brother, Aaron:[435] *Be my successor among my people, and keep the peace* (7:142)."

Seven: Ṭayyibī says that the word *minnī* in this phrase is the predicate of the subject. *Min* links, the predicate of the subject is particular, and the *bā'* is redundant, as in God's words:

فَإِنْ آمَنُوا بِمِثْلِ مَا آمَنْتُمْ بِهِ[436]

meaning

فَإِنْ آمَنُوا إِيمَانًا مِثْلَ إِيمَانِكُمْ

"If they believe a belief like your belief [or more naturally: *And if they believe in the like of what you believe in* (2:137)]." [Hence, the hadith] means: "You are linked to me, and occupy, in relation to me, the same position as Aaron did in relation to Moses."

The nature of the analogy is ambiguous until [the Prophet] explains it by saying:

إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي

"except that there is no prophet after me." So, it becomes known from here that the link between the Prophet and Imam Ali is not as regards prophethood, but rather as regards everything else, i.e. the Caliphate.[437]

The purpose of explaining this hadith, apart from its benefits, is that it is so potent that Ibn Taymiyyah Ḥarrānī, openly hostile (*nāṣibī*) as he was [to the Prophet's Household], could find no fault with the argument that it says that Imam Ali was appointed as deputy in charge of Medina in the Prophet's absence; instead he claims that the hadith—narrated via a chain (*musnad*) by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, the Imam of his school of jurisprudence (*madhhab*) in his [book titled] *Musnad*—has a broken chain of transmission, just because ʿAllāmah Ḥillī, may God be pleased with him, quotes it in *Minhāj al-Karāmah*, but omits the chain; having recorded this reproach that the hadith has a broken chain, he makes an enormous mistake, and he becomes confused by the meaning of

لَا يَنْبَغِي أَنْ أَذْهَبَ إِلَّا وَأَنْتَ خَلِيفَتِي

"I should not go unless you are in charge [in my absence]." And this alone proves his lack of knowledge of history and the situation of the hypocrites. We have included detailed biographical notes on them in this book.

The most important point is at the end of this hadith, and is quoted above, as the tenth merit, even though ʿAllāmah Ḥillī omits it in *Minhāj*, only quoting the hadith up to the point he does, as does

ᶜAllāmah Amīnī in *al-Ghadīr*,[438] quoting the hadith from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* up to the same point. Following the ten virtues of Imam Ali, Ibn ᶜAbbās says:

> ...the Badr veterans, and the pledgers of allegiance under the tree (*shajarah*), should not be pleased with themselves, be conceited, vie with each other in vainglory, or believe that they are automatically going to Heaven just because they fought in the Battle of Badr, or pledged allegiance under the tree, or because of the verse
>
> لَّقَدْ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَكَ تَحْتَ الشَّجَرَةِ.
>
> *God was well pleased with the believers when they were pledged allegiance to you under the tree* (48:18),[439] because this pleasure was temporary and because of their then-current state. We see that God was subsequently angry with some of them, not pleased with them evermore. Conversely, God is never angry with Imam Ali, who fought at Badr and Ḥunayn, and outperformed everyone else, because he never changed his way the way they did! He always followed God's Messenger's way. However, Omar did change his policy, deviating from the Prophet's tradition, so the verse about God's wrath was revealed about his [and others'] hellishness, and the Prophet explained it further.

The end of the hadith says that Ibn ᶜAbbās was asked a question, and he responded as follows:

وَقَدْ أَخْبَرَنَا اللهُ عَزَّوَجَلَّ فِي الْقُرْآنِ أَنَّهُ رَضِيَ عَنْهُمْ[440] عَنْ أَصْحَابِ الشَّجَرَةِ فَعَلِمَ مَا فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ؛ فَهَلْ أَخْبَرَنَا أَنَّهُ سَخِطَ عَلَيْهِمْ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ؟

قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: وَقَالَ نَبِيُّ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وآله وسلم لِعُمَرَ حِينَ قَالَ: ائْذَنْ لِي فَأَضْرِبَ عُنُقَهُ، قَالَ: وَكُنْتَ فَاعِلًا وَمَا يُدْرِيكَ لَعَلَّ اللهَ قَدِ اطَّلَعَ عَلَى أَهْلِ بَدْرٍ فَقَالَ: اعْمَلُوا مَا شِئْتُمْ.

"God, the Honorable and Exalted, has informed us in the Qurʾan that He was pleased with them—those who pledged allegiance under the tree (*shajarah*)—knowing what was in their hearts. Has He informed us that He was subsequently angry with them?!"

Ibn ᶜAbbās says: "When Omar said to [the Prophet]: 'Let me behead him' [referring to Ḥātib Ibn Abī Bultaᶜah; as *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* and *Muslim* say, he was spying on the Muslims and passing on their secrets to the pagans of Mecca],[441] God's Prophet asked Omar: 'Will you really do [so]?! And how do you know? Perhaps God looked upon the Badr veterans, and said: *Do what you will* (41:40).'"

The Verse about Omar and His Ilk

The verse is:

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يُلْحِدُونَ فِي آيَاتِنَا لَا يَخْفَوْنَ عَلَيْنَا أَفَمَن يُلْقَىٰ فِي النَّارِ خَيْرٌ أَم مَّن يَأْتِي آمِنًا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ اعْمَلُوا مَا شِئْتُمْ إِنَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرٌ

Surely those who blaspheme Our signs are not hidden from Us. What, is he who shall be cast into the Fire better, or he who comes on the Day of Resurrection in security? Do what you will; surely He sees the things you do (41:40). The Prophet's words are a very strong indication of the deviation and blasphemy by Omar and his ilk.

To explain, firstly, the Prophet wanted to make Omar understand that he was no better than Ḥāṭib Ibn Abī Bulta'ah, the treacherous spy for the Arab unbelievers and pagans, qualifying him to execute him. Omar *qua* Omar was not entitled to do so! Secondly, Omar and his ilk should not become conceited, or boast vaingloriously to each other about being Badr veterans, or having sworn allegiance under the tree, only for a verse to be revealed saying God was pleased with them. This is because the verse about God's wrath on account of their blasphemy, their sacrilege towards God's signs, legalization of what God has forbidden, and ripping of the veil of divine and prophetic infallibility was subsequently revealed!

The words:

اعْمَلُوا مَا شِئْتُمْ

Do what you will (41:40) only appear once in the Qur'an. The Prophet's recitation of and reliance on them, given the meaning of words that precede them, i.e. *Surely those who blaspheme Our signs are not hidden from Us. What, is he who shall be cast into the Fire better, or he who comes on the Day of Resurrection in security* (41:40), the actions of Omar and his followers both during the Prophet's lifetime and after his death, and the applicability of this verse to those transgressions and blasphemies—all these are excellent proof that the satisfaction with the Badr veterans and the pleasing pledgers of allegiance (*aṣḥāb bay'at al-riḍwān*) was only temporary, and the verse was only revealed with reference to their then-current state. It did not mean that God would be pleased with them even if they committed sins and crimes. This phrase

اعْمَلُوا مَا شِئْتُمْ

Do what you will (41:40) is an astonishing threat and makes you realize that your connection with God has been cut and the torrent has

reached the top of the hill. Do whatever you want to; I am aware of what you are doing!

Apart from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, in his *Musnad*, as cited above, this hadith is also quoted by Ḥākim in his *Mustadrak*, volume 3, page 134, and Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī in *al-Iṣābah*, volume 2, page 502 on the authority of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and Nasāʾī, quoting ʿAmr Ibn Maymūn.

The author of *al-Iṣābah* says at the end of [the hadith]:

وقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم: يا عُمَرُ مَا يُدْرِيكَ إِنَّ اللهَ اطَّلَعَ عَلَى بَدْرٍ فَقَالَ: اعْمَلُوا مَا شِئْتُمْ؟![442]

And God's Messenger said:

> O, Omar, how do you know? Surely God has looked upon the Badr veterans and said:
>
> اعْمَلُوا مَا شِئْتُمْ
>
> *Do what you will* (41:40)!

And Ibn Ḥajar Haythamī cites it in *Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid*, and then says: "Aḥmad relates it, as does Ṭabarānī in *al-Kabīr* and *al-Awsaṭ*, albeit abridgedly."

Couplets, Attributed to Imam Ali, about the Status Hadith

In any case, praise be to God, and through His grant of success, we have explained that the timing of the Status Hadith was when the Prophet was setting off on the Tabūk expedition; now it is time to conclude our discussion with couplets attributed Imam Ali in *Dīvān Amīr al-Muʾminīn*:

أَلَا بَاعَدَ اللهُ أَهْلَ النِّفَاقْ وَأَهْلَ الْأَرَاجِيفِ وَالْبَاطِلِ 1
يَقُولُونَ لِي قَدْ قَلَاكَ الرَّسُولْ فَخَلَّاكَ فِي الْخَائِفِ الْخَاذِلِ 2
وَمَا ذَاكَ إِلَّا لِأَنَّ النَّبِيْ جَفَاكَ وَمَا كَانَ بِالْفَاعِلِ 3
فَسِرْتُ وَسَيْفِي عَلَى عَاتِقِي إِلَى الرَّاحِمِ الْحَاكِمِ الْفَاضِلِ 4
فَلَمَّا رَآنِي هَفَا قَلْبُهُ وَقَالَ مَقَالَ الْأَخِ السَّائِلِ 5
أَمِمَّ ابْنَ عَمِّي؟ فَأَنْبَأْتُهُ بِأَزْجَافِ ذِي الْحَسَدِ الدَّاغِلِ 6

7 [443] فَقَالَ: أَخِي أَنتَ مِن دُونِهِمْ كَهَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى وَلَمْ يَأْتَلِ.

1. Lo! God has disfavored the people of hypocrisy, and the people of false rumors and falsehoods,
2. They tell me: "The Prophet has humiliated you, and has abandoned you among the treacherous ones who are staying behind!
3. And that was only because the Prophet has ostracized you," but the Prophet never does so with me;
4. I went with my sword over my shoulder to the excellent, merciful ruler!
5. And when he saw me, he felt restless, so he said, like a brother, asking:
6. "O, my cousin, why?" I informed him of the jealous troublemakers' rumors!
7. So he said: "O, my brother! You, not they, are to me as Aaron was to Moses!" And the Prophet did not fall short!

And we seek to achieve closeness [to God] via this quatrain:

رَأَيتُ وَلائِي آلَ طَهَ وَسِيلَةً عَلى رَغمِ أَهلِ البُعدِ يورِثُنِي القُربَى
فَما طَلَبَ المَبعُوثُ أَجراً عَلَى الهُدى بِتَبلِيغِهِ إِلَّا المَوَدَّةَ لِلقُربَى. [444]

Contrary to the people of disfavor, I have considered my love for Ṭā Hā's Family to be a means to earn me favor. The Envoy has asked for no reward for the guidance through delivering except for love of [his] kin.

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى سِرِّ الأَسرَارِ، وَمَشرِقِ الأَنوَارِ، المُهَنْدِسِ فِي الغُيُوبِ اللَّاهُوتِيَّةِ، السَّيَّاحِ فِي القِيَافِي الجَبَرُوتِيَّةِ، المُصَوِّرِ لِلهُيُولَى المَلَكُوتِيَّةِ، الوَالِي لِلوَلَايَةِ النَّاسُوتِيَّةِ، أُنمُوذَجِ الوَاقِعِ، وَشَخْصِ الإِطْلَاقِ، المُنْطَبِعِ فِي مَرَايَا الأَنفُسِ وَالآفَاقِ، سِرِّ الأَنبِيَاءِ وَالمُرْسَلِينَ، سَيِّدِ الأَوصِيَاءِ وَالصِّدِّيقِينَ، صُورَةِ الأَمَانَةِ الإِلَهِيَّةِ، مَادَّةِ العُلُومِ الغَيرِ المُتَنَاهِيَةِ، الظَّاهِرِ بِالبُرهَانِ، البَاطِنِ بِالقُدرَةِ وَالشَّانِ، بَسْمَلَةِ كِتَابِ العُلُومِ الغَيرِ المُتَنَاهِيَةِ، الظَّاهِرِ بِالبُرهَانِ، البَاطِنِ بِالقُدرَةِ وَالشَّانِ، بَسْمَلَةِ كِتَابِ المَوجُودِ، فَاتِحَةِ مُصْحَفِ الوُجُودِ، حَقِيقَةِ النُّقطَةِ البَائِيَّةِ، المُتَحَقِّقِ بِالمَرَاتِبِ الإِنسَانِيَّةِ حَيدَرِ آجَامِ الإِبدَاعِ، الكَرَّارِ فِي مَعَارِكِ الاختِرَاعِ، السِّرِّ الجَلِيِّ، وَالنَّجمِ الثَّاقِبِ، عَلِيِّ بنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ عَلَيهِ الصَّلَوةُ وَالسَّلَامُ. [445]

O God, bless the secret of secrets, the eastern horizon of lights, the engineer in divine unseens, the tourer in the deserts of invincibility, the conceptualizer of the celestial primary matter, the master over physical bodies, the sample of reality, absoluteness itself, imprinted in the mirrors of

souls and horizons, the secret of all the prophets and envoys, the master of all executors and truthful ones, the image of the divine trust, the substance of all [disciplines] of infinite knowledge, manifest through rational proof, hidden in power and status, the "In the Name of God" (*basmalah*) of the book of what exists, the opening of the codex of existence, the essence of the dot under the [letter] *bā'*, actualized in the human levels, the lion (Ḥaydar) of the thickets of origination, the indefatigable striker (*karrār*) in the battles of invention, the manifest secret, the piercing star, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, blessing and peace be upon him.

Lessons One Hundred Forty-Nine and One Hundred Fifty

The Other Honors Bestowed by the Status Hadith; Imam Ali Was Reckoned to Be Weak [by His People] Just like Aaron Was

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED FORTY-NINE AND ONE HUNDRED FIFTY

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

Blessing upon Muhammad and his infallible Household, and God's curse on his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! There is no power or strength except through Lofty, Glorious God.

Wise God says in His Glorious Book:

وَلَمَّا رَجَعَ مُوسَىٰ إِلَىٰ قَوْمِهِ غَضْبَانَ أَسِفًا قَالَ بِئْسَمَا خَلَفْتُمُونِي مِن بَعْدِي أَعَجِلْتُمْ أَمْرَ رَبِّكُمْ وَأَلْقَى الْأَلْوَاحَ وَأَخَذَ بِرَأْسِ أَخِيهِ يَجُرُّهُ إِلَيْهِ قَالَ ابْنَ أُمَّ إِنَّ الْقَوْمَ اسْتَضْعَفُونِي وَكَادُوا يَقْتُلُونَنِي فَلَا تُشْمِتْ بِيَ الْأَعْدَاءَ وَلَا تَجْعَلْنِي مَعَ الْقَوْمِ الظَّالِمِينَ

And when Moses returned to his people, angry and indignant, he said, "Evilly have you done in my place, in my absence; what, would you hasten on your Lord's edict?" And he cast down the Tablets, and laid hold of his brother's head, dragging him to him. He said, "Son of my mother, surely the people have thought me to be weak, and well nigh slain me. So let not my enemies gloat over me, and put me not among the wrongdoing people (7:150).

قَالَ رَبِّ اغْفِرْ لِي وَلِأَخِي وَأَدْخِلْنَا فِي رَحْمَتِكَ وَأَنتَ أَرْحَمُ الرَّاحِمِينَ

He said, "O my Lord, forgive me and my brother and enter us into Your mercy; You are the most merciful of the merciful" (7:151).

These verses are about Moses's people's apostasy from the monotheistic religion, in his absence, when he was away communing with and speaking to God for forty nights on Mount Sinai; in the meantime, the Sāmirī had tempted them into worshiping the calf. There were so many worshipers of the calf that Aaron could not stop them; they nearly killed him. And when Moses returned from Mount Sinai and saw his people worshiping the calf, he was angry with his brother for not following his way, not stopping his people from this repugnant act, and not leading them properly. Then Aaron presented his excuse, and Moses found it reasonable, felt sorry for his brother, and then asked God's forgiveness for his brother and himself.

Why Does the Holy Qur'an Refer to Moses and His People More Than to Any Other Prophet?

The story of Moses and the Israelites is told in many chapters of the Holy Qur'an, especially in *Sūrat al-Baqarah* ("The Cow"), *Sūrat al-Aʿrāf* ("The Heights"), *Sūrat Ṭā Hā*, and *Sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ* ("The Stories"); and he is also frequently referred to elsewhere in the Qur'an. There are more stories about him and his people than about any other prophet, including Abraham, who was the second-greatest prophet, i.e. second only to Muhammad, the Seal of the Prophets. He was hierarchically superior to Moses in terms of Unity of the Real's Essence but is not referred to as much as Moses. The reason for this is that the Holy Qur'an is not a story book about the prophets; rather, it is a Book of wisdom, admonition, and advice to teach mankind merit and perfection for us to put into practice, to find the straight path, and to live in ease. It also speaks of wrongdoing, immorality, and corrupt beliefs, customs, and practices so that we know what to avoid.

And it is because people have the same nature, and the same potential either to follow the path towards perfection, or fall down into the bottom of the pit! The Israelites had more disputes with their prophet than all other nations did because of their ignorance, dishonesty, and lack of understanding in all life's affairs, and their desire for worldly things, property, and jewelry and their only caring about their own welfare and benefit. Although Moses and his brother Aaron were there to advise them and show them the straight path, they never controlled their whims. This is why the Holy Qur'an says more about them than about anyone else. Everyone from when the Qur'an was revealed right up to the Day of Judgment can take heed and get to know them well and consequently know who has the same mentality as the Israelites and faces the same pitfalls and salvations, changes in circumstances, confusions, new ideas, and new beliefs, and can learn from reading these verses and applying them to themselves, to their own etiquette and behavior towards their own prophet, the Imams of the religion, and the masters of the clear *sharīʿah*. This way their feet will not slip like their predecessors'. They will not find faults, be lazy and neglectful, or be worldly, and fail to follow the blessed leaders appointed by the Prophet so they will not become abject like the Israelites. They should also know that Muslim and Jew are just labels. The true measure on Doomsday is actions, good deeds, and beliefs, not a nation's label! So if this nation is spiritless, takes a crooked path, does not follow its leader, and disputes

like the Israelites, there is no difference between the two nations, and they will share the same fate!

This is why in this Divine Book, the Holy Qur'an, people are commanded to recite it in the watches of the night and at the ends of the day, to become acquainted with Moses's and Aaron's personal characteristics, and their firm resolve, patience, and perseverance, because God has deposited similar [patience and perseverance] in the soul of everyone who has a soul. Similarly, they can acquaint themselves with that nation's characteristics and negative qualities, which made no difference, because the Israelites' whims did not extinguish the light of Monotheism, or Moses's and Aaron's firm belief, patience, and endurance. The light of Monotheism can be lit in the souls of [those who read the Qur'an], clearing the clouds of darkness.

Therefore, whoever recites the Qur'an, and gets to know that nation's circumstances, and understands the reason for their fall and abjection, is in effect studying himself. He is learning the consequences of rebelling and disobeying the religion, its teachings, and its masters, and conversely the positive results of conforming by following. Moses was a prophet and a messenger, and he was one of the prophets who was possessed of constancy [i.e. archprophets] (*ulū al-ʿazmi*)[446] who had a scripture, code of religious law (*sharīʿah*), and canon (*qānūn*). God let him see the Unseen Worlds, and allowed him to speak with Him, so he became known as *kalīmullāh* (unto whom God spake). He was born into one of the [twelve] tribes (*asbāṭ*), in Egypt ruled by Pharaoh, whose nation was the Egyptians (*aqbāṭ*). The twelve tribes were descended from Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham, and their homeland was the Levant, Jerusalem, and Canaan; they were cast out of their homeland because their enemy overwhelmed them, so they lived as slaves in Egypt. The Pharaohs would slaughter the [Israelites'] sons, but spare their daughters to serve as slaves in their homes. And then, because of the mercifulness and blessings of this great prophet, they gathered together under true Monotheism. After Moses's miracle defeated Pharaoh's people's sorcerers' magic, his staff having turned into a snake and swallowed their ropes, which they had made slither by magic, and all the magicians believed in his Message and in Moses's and Aaron's Lord, God commanded him to take the tribes out of Egypt and settle back in his ancestral home in the Levant. They were released by the Egyptians and their torture and regained their former sovereignty and freedom.

Moses Leads the Israelites Out of Egypt at Night

وَلَقَدْ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَىٰ مُوسَىٰ أَنْ أَسْرِ بِعِبَادِي فَاضْرِبْ لَهُمْ طَرِيقًا فِي الْبَحْرِ يَبَسًا لَا تَخَافُ دَرَكًا وَلَا تَخْشَىٰ فَأَتْبَعَهُمْ فِرْعَوْنُ بِجُنُودِهِ فَغَشِيَهُمْ مِنَ الْيَمِّ مَا غَشِيَهُمْ وَأَضَلَّ فِرْعَوْنُ قَوْمَهُ وَمَا هَدَىٰ.

Also We revealed unto Moses, "Go with My servants by night; strike for them a dry path in the sea, fearing not overtaking, neither afraid." Pharaoh followed them with his hosts, but they were overwhelmed by the sea; so Pharaoh had led his people astray, and was no guide to them (20:77–79).

This sentence is an allusion to Chapter 40, "The Believers," verse 29, where Pharaoh says to his people:

وَمَا أَهْدِيكُمْ إِلَّا سَبِيلَ الرَّشَادِ

"...I only guide you in the way of rectitude!" So it is clear that he was lying; he was leading them to misguidance and error. Pharaoh and his people drowned; but Moses's people crossed the sea in safety. Moses tapped with his rod, and twelve dry roads formed in the sea, and then every tribe, that is the line of every son of Jacob's, picked a road to travel. After crossing the sea, they were still afraid that Pharaoh would hunt and kill them! Some of them could not believe that Pharaoh, as powerful as he was, had been drowned, until God commanded the sea to wash his corpse up to the seashore, as a lesson to everyone!

As soon as the Israelites had crossed the sea and were delivered from their enemies, they went back to their old ways and asked Moses for an idol to worship:

وَجَاوَزْنَا بِبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ الْبَحْرَ فَأَتَوْا عَلَىٰ قَوْمٍ يَعْكُفُونَ عَلَىٰ أَصْنَامٍ لَهُمْ قَالُوا يَا مُوسَى اجْعَل لَّنَا إِلَٰهًا كَمَا لَهُمْ آلِهَةٌ قَالَ إِنَّكُمْ قَوْمٌ تَجْهَلُونَ.

And We brought the Israelites over the sea, and they came upon a people cleaving to idols they had. They said, "Moses, make for us a god, as they have gods." Said he, "You are surely a people who are ignorant..." (7:138).

They Asked the Prophet of Islam for Idols to Worship, Just as Moses's People Had

[Baḥrānī] relates in *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, by way of interpretation of this verse, from Muhammad Ibn Shahr Āshūb, that the exilarch (Ra's al-Jalūt) said to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib: "You did not even wait for thirty years after the death of your prophet to strike each other's faces with

swords!" Ali replied: "And the sea water had not even dried off your feet before you asked: 'Make for us a god as they have gods!'"[447]

Al-Durr al-Manthūr says:

> Ibn Abī Shaybah, Aḥmad, Nasā'ī, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Mundhar, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū al-Shaykh, and Ibn Mardawayh relate from Abū Wāqid Laythī, [who] said:
>
> > Before the Battle of Ḥunayn, we set off with the Prophet, and we passed by a lote tree. I said: "O God's Messenger, let us decorate this like the pagans had one to decorate. The pagans would hang their weapons on a lote tree, and then go around it."[448]
> >
> > The Prophet exclaimed: "God is too great [to be described]! This is just what the Israelites asked Moses: 'Make for us a god as they have gods!' Indeed you embark foolishly on the same courses as those who preceded you!"

When Moses crossed the sea with the tribes, and they found comfort, ease, and carefreeness in those vast lands, God promised Moses that he [Moses] would go with a number of [the Israelites'] rabbis and good people to commune with God and for the revelation of the Torah to be written on tablets, on the right side of Mount Sinai.[449] It was a blessed, fortuitous side. It was because the Israelites did not have a book of canon and laws. God had promised to reveal to Moses a Scripture containing admonition, wisdom, and detailed explanation of everything:[450]

يَا بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ قَدْ أَنْجَيْنَاكُمْ مِنْ عَدُوِّكُمْ وَوَاعَدْنَاكُمْ جَانِبَ الطُّورِ الْأَيْمَنَ وَنَزَّلْنَا عَلَيْكُمُ الْمَنَّ وَالسَّلْوَى، كُلُوا مِنْ طَيِّبَاتِ مَا رَزَقْنَاكُمْ وَلَا تَطْغَوْا فِيهِ فَيَحِلَّ عَلَيْكُمْ غَضَبِي وَمَنْ يَحْلِلْ عَلَيْهِ غَضَبِي فَقَدْ هَوَى، وَإِنِّي لَغَفَّارٌ لِمَنْ تَابَ وَآمَنَ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا ثُمَّ اهْتَدَى.

O Children of Israel, We delivered you from your enemy, and We made covenant with you on the right side of the Mountain, and We sent down on you manna and quails: Eat of the good things with which We have provided you, but do not overstep the bounds therein, lest My wrath should descend on you. Anyone on whom My wrath descends, certainly perishes. Yet I am indeed All-forgiving to whoever repents and believes and does righteousness; and is then guided (7:138).

As Moses was heading off towards Mount Sinai for the thirty nights, which were subsequently changed into forty nights, to commune with and receive the Torah as tablets from God for that huge nation, he appointed his brother, Aaron, to take his place as deputy.

He told him not to follow the wrongdoers, and to keep the peace among the people. He went alone, because of the depth of his love for his Lord and enjoyment of communing with and being alone with Him; he had commanded those whose lot it was to go with him to follow him and catch up with him. However, he was asked:

وَمَا أَعْجَلَكَ عَنْ قَوْمِكَ يَا مُوسَى؟ قَالَ هُمْ أُولَاءِ عَلَى أَثَرِي وَعَجِلْتُ إِلَيْكَ رَبِّ لِتَرْضَى.

"And what has made you hurry away from your people, Moses?" He said, "They are upon my tracks but I have hastened to You, my Lord, that You may be pleased" (20:83–84)."

How Moses's People Worshiped the Calf Fashioned by the Sāmirī

قَالَ فَإِنَّا قَدْ فَتَنَّا قَوْمَكَ مِنْ بَعْدِكَ وَأَضَلَّهُمُ السَّامِرِيُّ.

فَرَجَعَ مُوسَى إِلَى قَوْمِهِ غَضْبَانَ أَسِفًا قَالَ يَا قَوْمِ أَلَمْ يَعِدْكُمْ رَبُّكُمْ وَعْدًا حَسَنًا أَفَطَالَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْعَهْدُ أَمْ أَرَدْتُمْ أَنْ يَحِلَّ عَلَيْكُمْ غَضَبٌ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ فَأَخْلَفْتُمْ مَوْعِدِي.

Said He, "We have tempted thy people since thou didst leave them. The Sāmirī has misled them into error." Then Moses returned, indignant and grieved, to his people, saying, "My people, did your Lord not promise a fair promise to you [to reveal the Torah to you, and you will achieve happiness both in this world and the Hereafter by learning it, or did He not promise to deliver you from your enemies, and return you to your homeland, and bestow great blessing upon you]?" *Did the time of the covenant seem so long to you,* [so you despaired of my return and that is why your affairs became disordered], *or did you want wrath from your Lord to descend upon you,* [and you disbelieved after having believed, and worshiped the calf] *so you failed in your tryst with me?"* (20:85–86).

قَالُوا مَا أَخْلَفْنَا مَوْعِدَكَ بِمَلْكِنَا وَلَكِنَّا حُمِّلْنَا أَوْزَارًا مِنْ زِينَةِ الْقَوْمِ فَقَذَفْنَاهَا فَكَذَلِكَ أَلْقَى السَّامِرِيُّ.

فَأَخْرَجَ لَهُمْ عِجْلًا جَسَدًا لَهُ خُوَارٌ فَقَالُوا هَذَا إِلَهُكُمْ وَإِلَهُ مُوسَى فَنَسِيَ.

أَفَلَا يَرَوْنَ أَلَّا يَرْجِعُ إِلَيْهِمْ قَوْلًا وَلَا يَمْلِكُ لَهُمْ ضَرًّا وَلَا نَفْعًا.

They said, "We did not fail our tryst with you of our own accord, [and we did not spend any of our money on casting a golden calf] *but we were laden with the weight of the people's ornaments,* [such as bracelets, earrings, necklaces, and so on] *so we cast them* [into the fire]; *and the Sāmirī also cast."*

Then he brought out for them a calf, a [lifeless] *body that lowed and they said, "This is your god and the god of Moses, but he has forgotten."* [Moses forgot, or the Sāmirī forgot remembrance of God after having believed in Him].

Did they not see that it did not answer them, nor could it bring them any benefit or harm? (20:87–89).

وَلَقَدْ قَالَ لَهُمْ هَارُونُ مِن قَبْلُ يَا قَوْمِ إِنَّمَا فُتِنتُم بِهِ وَإِنَّ رَبَّكُمُ الرَّحْمَٰنُ فَاتَّبِعُونِي وَأَطِيعُوا أَمْرِي. قَالُوا لَن نَّبْرَحَ عَلَيْهِ عَاكِفِينَ حَتَّىٰ يَرْجِعَ إِلَيْنَا مُوسَىٰ.

Aaron had certainly told them earlier, "O my people! You are only being tested by it. Indeed your Lord is the All-merciful. So follow me and obey my command!" They said, "We will not cease, cleaving to it, until Moses returns to us" (20:90–91).

قَالَ يَا هَارُونُ مَا مَنَعَكَ إِذْ رَأَيْتَهُمْ ضَلُّوا، أَلَّا تَتَّبِعَنِ أَفَعَصَيْتَ أَمْرِي، قَالَ يَا ابْنَ أُمَّ لَا تَأْخُذْ بِلِحْيَتِي وَلَا بِرَأْسِي إِنِّي خَشِيتُ أَن تَقُولَ فَرَّقْتَ بَيْنَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَلَمْ تَرْقُبْ قَوْلِي.

He said, "O Aaron, what kept you, when you saw them go astray, from following me? Did you disobey my order?" [when I told you: Take my place among my people and do not follow the way of the troublemakers]. *He said, "O son of my mother, do not seize me by my beard, or by my head. I feared you would say, 'You have divided the Children of Israel, and you did not heed my word'"* (20:92–94).

Aaron's Good Reason for Not Opposing the Sāmirī

It is clear from what Aaron said: "Do not seize me by my beard, or by my head," that Moses was so angry that he wanted to beat his brother, Aaron, as per *Sūrat al-Aʿrāf* ("The Heights"):

وَأَخَذَ بِرَأْسِ أَخِيهِ يَجُرُّهُ إِلَيْهِ

and laid hold of his brother's head, dragging him to him (7:150).

As Aaron presented his excuse—that he did not fully resist for fear that the Israelites would become divided, so he had not disobeyed his brother and had in fact carried out his command because Moses had said to him: "Keep the peace between them," and he had done so—Moses accepted his excuse, and then prayed for him as well as for himself: *"O my Lord, forgive me and my brother and enter us into Your mercy; surely You are the most merciful of the merciful"* (7:151).

When Moses had spoken to his brother, Aaron, it was the Sāmirī's turn to be reproached. So to summarize, Moses firstly spoke

to his people who had lost their way and worshiped the calf, and secondly to his brother Aaron, and thirdly to the Sāmirī, reproaching him.

قَالَ فَمَا خَطْبُكَ يَا سَامِرِيُّ؟ قَالَ بَصُرْتُ بِمَا لَمْ يَبْصُرُوا بِهِ فَقَبَضْتُ قَبْضَةً مِنْ أَثَرِ الرَّسُولِ فَنَبَذْتُهَا وَكَذَلِكَ سَوَّلَتْ لِي نَفْسِي.

[Moses] *said, "What is your business, O Sāmirī?" He said, "I saw* [through my expertise in casting statues] *what they did not see, so I took a handful of dust from the messenger's trail, and cast it. That is how my soul prompted me* [to take some of the jewelry that was in the messenger's possession and was attributable to him and cast it into the fire to make a statue from it in the form of a calf that would 'low' when the wind blew through its mouth]" (20:95–96).[451]

Here, Moses commands him, as a punishment, to leave the Israelites; and no one is allowed contact with him until death reaches him; then, on the Day of Resurrection, he will receive the punishment received by polytheists and those who lead others astray.

قَالَ فَاذْهَبْ فَإِنَّ لَكَ فِي الْحَيَاةِ أَنْ تَقُولَ لَا مِسَاسَ وَإِنَّ لَكَ مَوْعِدًا لَنْ تُخْلَفَهُ وَانْظُرْ إِلَى إِلَهِكَ الَّذِي ظَلْتَ عَلَيْهِ عَاكِفًا لَنُحَرِّقَنَّهُ ثُمَّ لَنَنْسِفَنَّهُ فِي الْيَمِّ نَسْفًا. إِنَّمَا إِلَهُكُمُ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ وَسِعَ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ عِلْمًا.

He said, "Begone! It shall be your [lot] *throughout life to say, 'No touching!' Indeed there is a tryst for you which you will not fail to keep! Now look at your god to whom you went on clinging. We will burn it down and then scatter it*[s ashes] *into the sea. Your God is God alone, apart from Whom there is no other god. He embraces everything in* [His] *knowledge"* (20:97–98).

ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī, may God be pleased with him, says that these words: *Begone! It shall be your* [lot] *throughout life to say, "No touching!"* were the severest punishment because they sentenced him to banishment from society, such that he should not have any contact with anyone, he should not touch anyone, and no one should touch him by giving him anything or taking anything from him, sheltering him, being his friend, or speaking to him![452]

Imam Ali's Lawful Excuse for Not Starting an Armed Uprising

In any case, the reason for telling this story about Moses and about the worship of the calf by the Israelites, most of whom went astray in this way, and about the Sāmirī who led them astray into polytheism

and idolatry, and about Moses's reproach of his brother for not resisting, and Aaron's lawful excuse:

إِنَّ الْقَوْمَ اسْتَضْعَفُونِي وَكَادُوا يَقْتُلُونَنِي

surely the people have thought me to be weak, and well nigh slain me, was all to explain why the Master of the Faithful, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, allowed himself to be considered weak after the Prophet's death. It was because the Prophet had given him a testamentary instruction saying:

> You are my successor to my nation after I am gone; do not draw your sword, because otherwise there will be sedition, corruption, and division, and people will leave Islam; keep the peace among them, and tolerate the deviation from the path because you are to me as Aaron was to Moses—Aaron did not draw his sword either, thus protecting his brother's message.

Imam Ali, for reason of public interest, also conceded his own right and his leadership; he exposed his wife and children to hardships and disasters! He did not draw his sword, thus saving Islam from being destroyed, coming to naught and being eradicated; striving to ensure the survival of cosmetic Islam, at least, as a prelude for the reappearance of God's greatest remainder (*Baqiyyatullāh*), may God hasten his holy reappearance, for he will be the world's sunrise, eradicating the Sāmirī and his calf, extirpating polytheism, and waving the banner of the unity of word and the word of [God's] Unity all over the world. Note that during the Imam's occultation, there is still no impediment to anyone who wants to benefit from and learn from Islam's firmly rooted teachings, and have a connection with his Guardianship.

After the death of the Prophet, the Master of the Faithful faced a great many difficulties, many more than Moses's brother Aaron did! He stood against the enemies—the Sāmirī and his calf opposed the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and the Prophet's way and testamentary instruction to the whole of his nation, as regards Imam Ali's being his immediate successor; [this Sāmirī and calf] dragged most of the nation with them, and herded Ali to the mosque by force, like a nose-pegged (*makhshūsh*)[453] camel, and stood before him with swords drawn, to make him surrender, swear allegiance, and endorse their so-called government, so that all his family and friends would fall under the banner of that "elected" Caliph or rather the Caliph appointed by scheming and deceit! In this way, no weight was given to his knowledge and nobility, merit, precedence in Islam, military record

(*sābiqat al-jihād*), migration, explicit appointment as successor, superior knowledge of [God's] Book and [the Prophet's] tradition, or having being made the Prophet's brother, or to the Status Hadith, the Guardianship Hadith, the two weighty things Hadith, and all the other prophetic hadiths uttered on various occasions and in various circumstances. No value was attached to any of that in their tradition! No one considers it to be worth anything in this clamor and turmoil! "There remains only one matter," they said; "If you do not pledge allegiance, and obey this Caliphate in your thought and will and with your whole being, we are going to kill you! We will separate your head from your body with this sword!"

قال ابن ابی الحدید: ثُمَّ دَخَلَ عُمَرُ فَقَالَ لِعَلِيٍّ: قُمْ فَبَايِعْ قَتَلَكَ وَاحْتَبَسَ، فَأَخَذَ بِيَدِهِ فَقَالَ: قُمْ فَأَبَى أَنْ يَقُومَ فَحَمَلَهُ وَدَفَعَهُ كَمَا دَفَعَ الزُّبَيْرَ حَتَّى أَمْسَكَهُمَا خَالِدٌ وَسَاقَهُمَا عُمَرُ وَمَنْ مَعَهُ سَوْقاً عَنِيفاً، وَاجْتَمَعَ النَّاسُ يَنْظُرُونَ، وَامْتَلَأَتْ شَوَارِعُ الْمَدِينَةِ بِالرِّجَالِ وَرَأَتْ فَاطِمَةُ مَا صَنَعَ عُمَرُ فَصَرَخَتْ وَوَلْوَلَتْ وَاجْتَمَعَ مَعَهَا كَثِيرٌ مِنَ الْهَاشِمِيَّاتِ وَغَيْرِهِنَّ فَخَرَجَتْ إِلَى بَابِ حُجْرَتِهَا وَنَادَتْ: يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ مَا أَسْرَعَ مَا أَغَرْتُمْ عَلَى أَهْلِ بَيْتِ رَسُولِ اللهِ، وَاللهِ لَا أُكَلِّمُ عُمَرَ حَتَّى أَلْقَى اللهَ[454]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says:

> Then Omar entered and said to Ali: "Stand up and pledge allegiance," but he tarried and held back, so he seized him by the hand and said: "Stand up!" But he refused to stand, so he lifted him up and pushed him as he had pushed Zubayr, until Khālid seized them both and Omar violently herded them and everyone who was with them. The people gathered to watch, and the streets of Medina filled with men. Fāṭimah saw what Omar had done, so she shouted and wailed. Many Hāshimite and other women gathered with her. She then went out to the door of her apartment and called: "O, Abū Bakr! How quickly you have attacked God's Messenger's Household! By God, I will never speak to Omar until I meet God."

That was after Ali and his companions took shelter in Fāṭimah al-Zahrā''s house as opponents to the de facto government. The mob then rushed to the door of Fāṭimah's house, and dragged them to the mosque. They broke Zubayr's sword, threw stones at him, captured him, and handed him to Khālid Ibn Walīd, and a group who had come with him; then they went to Ali.

Ibn Qutaybah Dīnvarī says:

They pulled Ali out, and took him to Abū Bakr, and then told him: "Pledge allegiance to him!" Ali asked: "What if I did not pledge homage?"

قَالُوا: اذاً وَاللهِ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ نَضْرِبُ عُنُقَكَ.

They said: "By God apart from Whom there is no other god, we will cut your head off!"

Ali said: "Then, you are going to kill God's servant, and His Messenger's brother!"

Omar said: "God's servant, but not His Messenger's brother!" Now, Abū Bakr was silent, not saying anything. Omar asked him: "Are you not going to give an order concerning him?"

Abū Bakr said: "I will not force him to do anything as long as Fāṭimah is at his side."

Imam Ali Said: إِنَّ القَومَ استَضعَفُونِي "Surely the People Have Thought Me to Be Weak," Just as Aaron Did

فَلَجِئَ عَلِيٌّ بِقَبْرِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم يَصِيحُ وَيَبْكِي وَيُنَادِي: يَا ابْنَ أُمَّ إِنَّ القَوْمَ اسْتَضْعَفُونِي وَكَادُوا يَقْتُلُونَنِي.[455]

Ali then clung to God's Messenger's grave, shouted, sobbed, and called out: "O son of my mother! Surely the people have thought me to be weak, and well nigh slain me!"

This statement by Ali, addressed to the Prophet, is similar to what Aaron said to his brother!

Majlisī says after setting out Ṣadūq's and Sayyid Murtaḍā's detailed discussion of this blessed hadith (the Status Hadith):

My comment: It is obvious to a fair person, after hearing the hadiths we have mentioned, and their context, which indicates that the deputization means what we said [and] based on what these two great and eminent scholars said *supra*, that the hadith explicitly appoints the Master of the Faithful as Imam and general deputy—especially when the other contextual clues are added to it, including the famous hadith that says that everything that happened to the Israelites will happen to this nation completely identically (*ḥadhw al-naʿl bi al-naʿl*). Nothing like the story of Aaron and his nation's calf worship happened until after the Prophet died: the usurping of the Caliphate, and the failure to support [the Prophet's] executor. Both Shiʿa and Sunni (*al-farīqayn*) hadiths say that

the Master of the Faithful then went to God's Messenger's grave and said what Aaron had said:

يَابْنَ أُمَّ إِنَّ الْقَوْمَ اسْتَضْعَفُونِي وَكَادُوا يَقْتُلُونَنِي[456]

"O son of my mother! Surely the people have thought me to be weak, and well nigh slain me!"

Further contextual clues are what one Sunni (*ba'ḍ al-mukhālifīn*) says, namely that the successorship transferred to the children of Aaron. Therefore, concomitant to sharing the same status as Aaron, in relation to Moses, is that [Imam] Hasan and [Imam] Husayn, who, according to both Shi'a and Sunni consensus, were named after Aaron's sons, must [also] be successors to the Prophet. Their father, the Master of the Faithful, must have been successor because no one claims that there was a distinction, and because all Muslims, without exception, say that [Imam Ali] was Imam and successor when these two Imams were made Imam. There is no room for any doubt that Imam [Ali] was successor!

One [Sunni] who says so is Muhammad Shahristānī, who, in explaining the Jews' circumstances, says:

> The leadership was shared by Moses and his brother Aaron because Moses had asked: *and associate him with me in my task* (20:32). Hence, Aaron was Moses's executor. But as Aaron died within Moses's lifetime, the executorship transferred to Joshua son of Nun, as a trust to pass on to Aaron's sons, Shubbayr and Shubbar.
>
> This is because executorship and Imamate (like some other matters) is sometimes fixed (*mustaqqarr*), and sometimes changeable (*mustawda'*).

Here ends Shahristānī's statement. Further evidence is the hadiths cited above and below, which all indicate that God's Messenger was busy with designating Ali as successor, and manifesting his merits [as successor] at every battle and stage. More will be said about that in the coming chapters.

However, after explaining all this, I say that even if we concede every contention our opponent has raised, (notwithstanding the fact that we have provided evidence to refute each of them), he cannot dispute the fact that the Status Hadith proves that Imam Ali was the most favored and dearest person to God's Messenger. And as explained in the previous chapters, he could only have been the dearest if he was the most meritorious. Therefore, it is unreasonable to promote anyone else above [Ali], and [reason] dictates that it is abhorrent to do so.

And who on earth can imagine that the occupier of Aaronesque status who has all the merits and virtues that that entails, should be part of the flock and a follower to someone who has committed nothing but atrocities and has nothing but vices?! And all praise be to God who has made the truth clear to whoever seeks it and not left any doubt about it.[457]

Uzrī's couplets about the Aaronesque status

And how beautifully the poet to the Household, Uzrī, puts it in his lengthy ode:

مَلِكٌ شَدَّ أَزْرَهُ بِأَخِيهِ فَاسْتَقَامَتْ مِنَ الْأُمُورِ قَنَاهَا.[458]

[The Prophet] is a Sultan whose back [God] has strengthened with his brother, so that all affairs run safe and sound!

وَتَفَكَّرْ بِأَنَّكَ مِنِّي تَجِدْهَا حِكْمَةً تُورِثُ الرُّقُودَ انْتِبَاهَا 1

أَوَ مَا كَانَ بَعْدَ مُوسَى أَخُوهُ خَيْرَ أَصْحَابِهِ وَأَكْرَمَ جَاهَا 2

لَيْسَ تَخْلُو إِلَّا النُّبُوَّةُ مِنْهُ وَلِهَذَا خَيْرُ الْوَرَى اسْتَثْنَاهَا[459] 3

1. And you think about:

أَنْتَ مِنِّي ...

"You are to me ..."—wisdom that awakens those who are asleep!
2. Was Moses's brother Aaron not the best of his companions and noblest in station?
3. Nothing apart from prophethood is missing from him; therefore, the best man excluded it!

كُلُّ نَفْسٍ كَانَتْ تَرَانِي مَوْلَىٰ فَلْتَرَ الْيَوْمَ حَيْدَرًا مَوْلَاهَا 1

رَبِّ هَذِي أَمَانَةٌ لَكَ عِنْدِي وَإِلَيْكَ الْأَمِينُ قَدْ أَدَّاهَا 2

وَالِ مَنْ لَا يَرَى الْوَلَايَةَ إِلَّا لِعَلِيٍّ وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهَا 3

فَأَجَابُوا: بَخٍّ بَخٍّ وَقُلُوبُ الْقَوْمِ تَغْلِي عَلَى مَغَالِي قِلَاهَا 4

لَمْ تُسَعِّهِمْ إِلَّا الْإِجَابَةُ بِالْقَوْلِ وَإِنْ كَانَ قَصْدُهُمْ مَا عَدَاهَا.[460] 5

1. Every soul that sees me as his Master should today see Ḥaydar as its Master!
2. O my Lord! This is a Trust of Yours with me, and [Gabriel] the trustworthy has delivered it for You!

3. Be a friend to whoever accepts only Ali as Master; and be an enemy to whoever is his enemy.
4. And they responded: "Bravo! Bravo!" But the people's hearts were boiling on the flames of their grudges!
5. They could do nothing but respond by saying, even though their intention was something else.

إِنْ تَنَاسَيْتُمَا السَّقِيفَةَ وَالْقَوْمَ فَإِنِّي وَاللهِ لَا أُنْسَاهَا.[461]

If you two pretend to have forgotten the Saqīfah, and your folk, by God, I will never forget it.

يَا تَرَى هَلْ دَرَتْ لِمَنْ أَخَّرَتْهُ عَنْ مَقَامِ الْعُلَى وَمَا أَدْرَاهَا؟ 1

أَخَّرَتْ أَشْبَهَ الْوَرَى بِأَخِيهِ هَلْ رَأَتْ فِي أَخِ النَّبِيِّ اشْتِبَاهَا.[462] 2

1. Do you think that [the Saqīfah] knew whom it was keeping away from the position of elevation? What could make [the Saqīfah] aware of this?
2. [The Saqīfah] dismissed the person who most resembled his brother; was it confused over the brother of the Prophet?

أَنَبِيٌّ بِلَا وَصِيٍّ تَعَالَى اللهُ عَمَّا يَقُولُهُ سُفَهَاهَا 1

زَعَمُوا أَنَّ هَذِهِ الْأَرْضَ مَرْعَىً تَرَكَ النَّاسُ فِيهِ تَرْكَ سُدَاهَا.[463] 2

1. How can a Prophet be without a successor?
God is far from what fools say!
2. They have claimed that this earth is a pasturage, for the people to be left to lie on their own!

نَقَضُوا عَهْدَ أَحْمَدٍ فِي أَخِيهِ وَأَذَاقُوا الْبَتُولَ مَا أَشْجَاهَا 1

وَهِيَ الْعُرْوَةُ الَّتِي لَيْسَ يَنْجُو غَيْرُ مُسْتَعْصِمٍ بِحَبْلِ وَلَاهَا.[464] 2

1. They broke Aḥmad's covenant concerning his brother, and they made the devotee (Batūl) taste the bitterest sorrows!
2. Though she is the bond; only those clinging to the rope of accepting her as master are saved!

He then says in poetry what the best lady of the two worlds would say to those people. It is full of proof and evidence and full of

reproach. He says:

وَحَذَوتُمْ حَذْوَ الْيَهُودِ غَدَاةَ اتَّخَذُوا الْعِجْلَ بَعْدَ مُوسَى إِلَهًا.[465]

"And you followed the Jews exactly, on the morning when in Moses's absence they deified the calf!"

Next he says:

أَيَّ شَيْءٍ عَبَدْتُمْ إِذْ عَبَدْتُمْ أَنْ يُوَلَّى تَيْمٌ عَلَى آلِ طَهَ 1
هَذِهِ الْبُرْدَةُ الَّتِي غَضِبَ اللهُ عَلَى كُلِّ مَنْ سِوَانَا ارْتَدَاهَا 2
عَلِمَ اللهُ أَنَّا أَهْلُ بَيْتٍ لَيْسَ تَأْوِي دَنِيَّةٌ مَأْوَاهَا 3
وَلِأَيِّ الْأُمُورِ تُدْفَنُ سِرًّا بَضْعَةُ الْمُصْطَفَى وَيَخْفَى ثَرَاهَا 4
فَمَضَتْ وَهِيَ أَعْظَمُ النَّاسِ وَجْدًا فِي فَمِ الدَّهْرِ غُصَّةٌ مِنْ جَوَاهَا 5
وَثَوَتْ لَا يَرَى لَهَا النَّاسُ مَثْوَى أَيُّ قُدْسٍ يَضُمُّهُ مَثْوَاهَا.[466] 6

1. What thing did you serve, when you served, for Taym to be made Ṭā Ḥā's Family's master?
2. This robe is such clothing that God is angry to see anyone else but us wearing it on his shoulders!
3. God knows that we are truly the Household and no ugly affair finds its way into our household.
4. And for what reason is the fillet of the Muṣṭafā (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'), buried secretly, and is her grave hidden?!
5. Yes, Fāṭimah the greatest of people passed away angry; there is a lump in time's throat from ardent love for her!
6. She rests, people do not know where her resting place is. Which holy place holds her resting place?

Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Ḥillī's Couplets about the Persecution Suffered by Imam Ali and Zahrā'

Now, how appropriate it is for us to cite some couplets by the poet to the Household, the blessed Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Ḥillī, may God elevate his position in the Hereafter:

الْوَائِبِينَ لِظُلْمِ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَمُحَمَّدٌ مُلْقًى بِلَا تَكْفِينِ 1
وَالْقَاتِلِينَ لِفَاطِمٍ آذَيْتَنَا فِي طُولِ نَوْحٍ دَائِمٍ وَحَنِينِ 2
وَالْقَاطِعِينَ ذِرَاكَةً كَيْمَا تَقِي بِظِلٍّ أَوْرَاقٍ لَهَا وَغُصُونِ 3

وَبُجَمْعِي حَطَبٌ عَلَى الْبَيْتِ الَّذِي لَمْ يَجْتَمِعْ لَوْلَاهُ شَمْلُ الدِّينِ 4

وَالْهَاجِمِينَ عَلَى الْبَتُولِ بَيْتِهَا وَالْمُسْقِطِينَ لَهَا اعَزَّ جَنِينِ 5

وَالْقَائِدِينَ إِمَامَهُم بِحَمَائِلِهِ وَالطُّهْرُ تَدْعُو خَلْفَهُ بِرَنِينِ 6

خَلُّوا ابْنَ عَمِّي أَوْ لَأَكْشِفَ فِي الدُّعَا رَأْسِي وَأَشْكُو لِلْإِلَهِ شُجُونِي 7

مَا كَانَ نَاقَةُ صَالِحٍ وَفَصِيلُهَا بِالْفَضْلِ عِنْدَ اللهِ إِلَّا دُونِي 8

وَدَنَتْ إِلَى الْقَبْرِ الشَّرِيفِ بِمُقْلَةٍ عَبْرَى وَقَلْبٍ مُكْمَدٍ مَحْزُونِ 9

قَالَتْ وَأَظْفَارُ الْمُصَابِ بِقَلْبِهَا غَوْثَاهُ قَلَّ عَلَى الْعِدَاةِ مُعِينِي 10

أَبَتَاهُ هَذَا السَّامِرِيُّ وَعِجْلُهُ تُبِعَا وَمَالَ النَّاسُ عَنْ هَارُونِ 11

أَيَّ الرَّزَايَا أَتَّقِي بِتَجَلُّدِي هُوَ فِي النَّوَائِبِ مُذْ حَمِيتُ قَرِينِي 12

قَدِّي أَبِي؟ أَمْ غَصْبَ بَعْلِي حَقَّهُ أَمْ كَسْرَ ضِلْعِي أَمْ سُقُوطَ جَنِينِ[467] 13

أَمْ أَخْذَهُمْ إِرْثِي وَفَاضِلَ نِحْلَتِي أَمْ جَهْلَهُمْ حَقِّي وَقَدْ عَرَفُونِي 14

قَهَرُوا بِتَيْمِيكَ الْحُسَيْنَ وَصِنْوَهُ وَسَأَلْتُهُمْ حَقِّي وَقَدْ نَهَرُونِي. 15

1. The pouncers to oppress Muhammad's Family; while Muhammad was still lying on his back not yet shrouded.
2. And those who told Fāṭimah: "You have bothered us with your prolonged, incessant wailing and moaning!"
3. And those who cut the Salvadora persica tree to stop [Fatima] from taking shade under its leaves and branches!
4. And those who collected firewood [to set fire] to a house were it not for which the religion would never have come together.
5. And those who attacked the devotee (Batūl) in her own home, and caused her to give stillbirth to her dearest baby in her womb.
6. And those who dragged their Imam by his sword belt to the mosque while immaculateness (Fāṭimah) called out ringingly behind him:
7. "Let my paternal cousin go! Otherwise, I will unveil my head to pray and complain about my distress to God!
8. Ṣāliḥ's camel and its newborn were naught but lower in priority than I in God's sight."
9. And she approached the holy grave with tearful eyes and a sorrowful, saddened heart!
10. She said, the fingernails of the bereavement still [digging] into her: "Help! few helpers do I have against the enemy!
11. O dearest father! This Sāmirī and his Calf have been followed and people have turned away from Aaron!

12. Which of the disasters do I protect myself from, through being robust—for he has been my consort through calamities as long as I have lived—
13. The loss of my father? Or the usurpation of my husband's right? Or my ribs being broken! Or the stillbirth of my baby?
14. Or their seizing my inheritance or what is left of a gift to me—or their ignorance of my right, though they all know me?!
15. O dearest father! They subdued your two orphans, Husayn and his brother, and I asked them for my right, but they rebuffed me!"

Now we are going to conclude our discussion of the first of the fourteen occasions on which the Prophet uttered the Status Hadith; we shall continue by discussing the other occasions, but because our discussion of the first occasion was so detailed, we will be brief in our discussion of the others, restricting ourselves to discussion of the hadith itself and leaving out discussion of all other aspects of the matter.[468]

The Second Occasion on Which the Status Tradition Was Uttered Was after the Victory at Khaybar

The second occasion was when Khaybar was taken, when the Prophet trusted the banner to Abū Bakr but he fled. Then he trusted it to Omar, but he also fled. He then said: "I shall most certainly give the banner to a man whom God and His Messenger love, and who loves God and His Messenger, [who] attacks without fleeing, by whose hands God brings victory." Thereafter, many of them were hoping to be the standard-bearer, but God's Messenger then asked: "Where is Ali?!"

They said: "His eyes are swollen, and they are hurting him; he cannot stand [it]; now, he is busy grinding in the place where they have set up camp."

So God's Messenger called him, spat in his eyes, and handed him the banner. [Ali] slew Marḥab, the Jews' brave hero and undisputed champion. Ali breached the citadel and single-handedly ripped away its historic gate, tossing it aside! He captured several Jews, including the daughter of Ḥuyayy Ibn Akhṭab and took her to God's Messenger. It was then that God's Messenger uttered those amazing historic statements about him, explaining his greatness and status. Some of what he said was:

لَوْلَا اَنْ تَقُوْلَ فِيْكَ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ اُمَّتِي مَا قَالَتِ النَّصَارٰى فِي الْمَسِيْحِ ابْنِ مَرْيَمَ، لَقُلْتُ فِيْكَ الْيَوْمَ مَقَالًا لَا تَمُرُّ بِمَلَإٍ إِلَّا اَخَذُوا التُّرَابَ مِنْ تَحْتِ قَدَمِكَ وَمِنْ فَضْلِ طَهُوْرِكَ فَاسْتَشْفَوْا بِهٖ، وَلٰكِنْ حَسْبُكَ اَنْ تَكُوْنَ مِنِّي وَاَنَا مِنْكَ، تَرِثُنِي وَاَرِثُكَ، وَاَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُوْنَ مِنْ مُوْسٰى إِلَّا اَنَّهٗ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي، وَاِنَّكَ تُبْرِءُ ذِمَّتِي، وَتُقَاتِلُ عَلٰى سُنَّتِي،[469]

Were it not for some among my nation who would say about you what the Christians say about Christ son of Mary, I would say something about you today, [and] you would not pass by any crowd without their taking the dust from under your foot and some of the water left over from your ablutions to be healed with! However, it should suffice you to be of my kind (*minnī*), and me to be of your kind (*mink*)! You are my heir and I am your heir! You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me! It is you who will clear my debt, and fight to defend my tradition.

The Third Occasion the Prophet Uttered the Status Hadith Was When All the Doors to the Mosque Were Blocked except Ali's

The third occasion was when the Prophet gave the order to block off all the doors leading to the mosque, except Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's door. Right up until that time, each of those doors around the mosque would open into the mosque. The Prophet gave the order for all these doors, even his uncle ʿAbbās's and uncle Ḥamzah's, the Master of the Martyrs', be blocked off. And then, no one in the nation had the right to enter the mosque in a state of major ritual impurity (*mujnib*) or have skin-to-skin contact with his wife in the mosque except for Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib [and the Prophet].

This command was too much for some, because Abū Bakr's door and ʿAbbās's had been blocked off! So the Prophet stated: "It was not I who evicted them from the mosque, and kept Ali in there. It was God Who evicted them and installed Ali."

In *Ghāyat al-Marām*, Baḥrānī relates from Ibn Bābawayh, via his unbroken chain from Maʿrūf Ibn Kharrabūdh, from Abū Ṭufayl, from Ḥudhayfah Ibn Usayd Ghifārī, [who] said:

إِنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهٖ وَسَلَّمَ قَامَ خَطِيْبًا فَقَالَ: إِنَّ رِجَالًا لَا تَجِدُوْنَ فِي اَنْفُسِهِمْ اَنْ اُسْكِنَ عَلِيًّا فِي الْمَسْجِدِ وَاُخْرِجَهُمْ. وَاللهِ مَا اَخْرَجْتُهُمْ وَاَسْكَنْتُهٗ بَلِ اللهُ اَخْرَجَهُمْ وَاَسْكَنَهٗ إِنَّ اللهَ عَزَّوَجَلَّ اَوْحٰى إِلٰى مُوْسٰى وَاَخِيْهِ اَنْ تَبَوَّءَا لِقَوْمِكُمَا بِمِصْرَ بُيُوْتًا وَاجْعَلُوْا بُيُوْتَكُمْ قِبْلَةً وَاَقِيْمُوا الصَّلٰوةَ،[470] ثُمَّ اَمَرَ

مُوسَى انْ لَا يَسْكُنَ مَسْجِدَهُ وَلَا يَنْكِحَ فِيهِ وَلَا يَدْخُلَهُ جُنُبٌ إِلَّا هَارُونَ وَذُرِّيَّتُهُ وَإِنَّ عَلِيًّا مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى وَهُوَ اخِي دُونَ اهْلِي، وَلَا لِاحَدٍ انْ يَنْكِحَ فِيهِ النِّسَاءَ إِلَّا عَلِيٌّ وَذُرِّيَّتُهُ فَمَنْ سَاءَهُ فَهَاهُنَا، وَاشَارَ بِيَدِهِ نَحْوَ الشَّامِ.[471]

The Prophet stood up to deliver a sermon, and he said:

> There are some people who cannot tolerate my letting Ali remain in the mosque, but evicting them. By God, it was not I who has evicted them from the mosque but housed [Ali]. Rather, God evicted them and housed him. God, Mighty and Sublime is He, revealed to Moses and his brother, Aaron: *Take you, for your people, in Egypt certain houses; and make your houses a direction for men to pray to; and perform the prayer...* (10:87). God then commanded Moses not to let anyone dwell in the mosque, have intercourse there, or enter the mosque in a state of major ritual impurity, except Aaron and his offspring; and surely, Ali is to me as Aaron was to Moses. He is my brother, not the rest of my family. No one is allowed to have intercourse with his wives in there, except Ali and his offspring! Whoever is still ailed, so there!

And he pointed towards the Levant.

It is narrated from Muẓaffar Ibn Jaᶜfar Ibn Jaᶜfar Ibn Muẓaffar ᶜAlawī, via his unbroken chain from Abū Rāfiᶜ, who said:

God's Messenger delivered a sermon, saying:

> O people, God, the Honorable and Exalted, commanded Moses and his brother to take houses for their nation to abide in, in Egypt; and commanded them not to tarry in the mosque while in a state of major ritual impurity or be intimate with their wives in there, apart from Aaron and his offspring. So no one apart from Ali and his offspring is allowed to be intimate with their wives in my mosque or tarry in it while in a state of major ritual impurity and whoever is ailed by that, so there!

And he pointed (*ḍaraba bi yadihi*) towards the Levant![472]

Similarly, [it is related] from Ibn Bābawayh, via his unbroken chain from Rayyān Ibn Ṣalt, from Imam Ali Ibn Mūsā Riḍā, in a hadith within which the Imam lists the differences between the Messenger's closest family (*ᶜitrah*) and the rest of the nation. He then cites

the verses—proving they are chosen—in twelve different places in the Qur'an.

The fourth is that God's Messenger evicted everyone but his closest family from the mosque. People spoke about that with God's Messenger, and ʿAbbās spoke, saying: "O God's Messenger, you have left Ali alone but evicted all of us!" So God's Messenger answered: "It was not I who left him alone, and evicted you, but God Who left him alone and evicted you." This explains God's Messenger's words to Ali: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses."

The scholars who had all attended Ma'mūn's court said: "From which part of the Qur'an is this?"

The Holiness stated: "I will show you in the same Qur'an that [God] has recited to you!" They said: "Bring [it]!"

The Holiness said:

It is Exalted God's words:

وَأَوْحَيْنَآ إِلَىٰ مُوسَىٰ وَأَخِيهِ أَن تَبَوَّءَا لِقَوْمِكُمَا بِمِصْرَ بُيُوتًا وَاجْعَلُوا بُيُوتَكُمْ قِبْلَةً

Take you, for your people, in Egypt certain houses; and make your houses a direction for men to pray to (10:87), and in this verse is Aaron's status in relation to Moses. Also in it is Ali's status in relation to God's Messenger. Similar to this, there is clear proof in God's Messenger's words when he stated:

إِنَّ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ لَا يَحِلُّ إِلَّا لِمُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ

"Indeed [staying in] this mosque is only permissible for Muhammad and his family."

scholars said:

O Abū al-Hasan, this commentary and this explanation is to be found nowhere else but with you, God's Messenger's Household. Who can deny that to us? God's Messenger said:

أَنَا مَدِينَةُ الْعِلْمِ وَعَلِيٌّ بَابُهَا. فَمَنْ أَرَادَ الْحِكْمَةَ فَلْيَأْتِهَا مِنْ بَابِهَا.

"I am the city of knowledge, and Ali is its gate, so whoever wants wisdom, should enter through its gate!"

Then, Imam Riḍā stated: "So there is in what we have clarified and explained some merit, honor, superiority, closeness, and purity, which no one but a stubborn opponent of God Exalted would reject. Praise be to God for that! And this is the fourth respect in which [the

Prophet's] closest family (*ʿitrah*) differs from the rest of the nation. And now, as for the fifth respect..."[473]

The Fourth and Fifth Occasions on Which the Status Hadith Was Uttered Were When the Prophet Warned His Closest Relations, and When the Prophet Paired the Muslims Up as Brothers

The fourth occasion was when the Warning Verse:

وَأَنذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الْأَقْرَبِينَ

and warn your nearest relations (26:214) was revealed [as recounted in] the Nearest Relations Hadith. The Prophet arranged a gathering, and ordered Imam Ali to invite his paternal uncles and senior members of Banī Hāshim, and to cook and prepare a leg of mutton, and prepare a bowl of drinking yoghurt. At that time—about three years after the commencement of the Prophet's mission—Ali was thirteen years old. So he invited all the Prophet's uncles and other close relatives and senior Hāshimites, and after they had had their meal, the Prophet stated:

> God, Mighty and Sublime is He, has commanded me to warn my closest relatives and my chosen kinsfolk!
>
> You are my closest relations and chosen kinsfolk. Surely God has never sent a prophet without appointing him a brother, aide, and executor from his family.
>
> فَأَيُّكُمْ يَقُومُ يُبَايِعُنِي عَلَى أَنَّهُ أَخِي وَوَزِيرِي وَوَارِثِي دُونَ أَهْلِي، وَوَصِيِّي، وَخَلِيفَتِي فِي أَهْلِي، وَيَكُونُ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى غَيْرَ أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي؟!
>
> So, which of you will stand up to swear allegiance to be my brother, my aide, and my heir besides my own family, and my executor and successor among my family, and to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?

All of those present in the session snubbed what he was saying, and turned away from him, except Ali, who agreed and swore allegiance to him.

The same wording of this hadith appears in *Tārīkh Dimashq* and *Ghāyat al-Marām*, as well as *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*. We have only quoted the relevant section.[474]

It is also in *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays*:

> Thereupon, God's Messenger told Abū Ṭālib:

يا أبا طالب، اسمع الآن لابنك وأطع فقد جعله الله من نبيه بمنزلة هارون من موسى.[475]

"O Abū Ṭālib, now, listen to your son and obey him because God has made him to his Prophet what Aaron was to Moses!"

As we have already discussed the Warning Verse and the Close Relations Hadith briefly in *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 1, Lesson Five, and in detail in this volume, lessons 126–40, we shall content ourselves with what we have already said.

The fifth occasion was when the Prophet paired the Migrants and Supporters up as brothers in Medina; he called Ali his brother then, explaining the Status Hadith by making him his brother.

Sayyid Baḥrānī relates in *Ghāyat al-Marām* from *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal* via four chains, and via one chain from the master of orators, Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad Khārazmī, that when the Prophet was pairing up the Migrants and Supporters as brothers, he left Ali until last to be his own brother. He then made him his brother thereafter, saying:

أما ترضى أن تكون مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى إلا أنه لا نبيّ بعدي.

"Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me?"[476]

As we discussed in detail the Prophet's making Imam Ali his brother in volume two of the *Knowing the Imams*, lessons 22–24, here we shall content ourselves with citing the reference therein to the Status Hadith.[477]

The Sixth Occasion on Which the Status Hadith Was Uttered Was in the Sermon at Ghadīr Khumm

The sixth occasion was in the Prophet's sermon at Ghadīr, at Juḥfah, during his return from the Farewell Pilgrimage.

In *Ghāyat al-Marām*, Sayyid Baḥrānī relates the account of the Ghadīr from *al-Iḥtijāj* by Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib Ṭabarsī, via his unbroken chain, and similarly from *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn* by Ibn Fārsī, from Imam Muhammad Bāqir. The relevant part is:

يأمرني عن السلام ربّي وهو السلام أن أقوم في هذا المشهد فأعلم كلّ أبيض وأسود: أنّ عليّ بن أبي طالب أخي ووصيي وخليفتي والإمام من بعدي والذي محلّه منّي محلّ هارون من موسى إلا أنّه لا نبيّ بعدي وهو وليكم بعد الله ورسوله.[478]

Gabriel instructs me on the authority of The Peace (al-Salām)—my Lord Who is The Peace (al-Salām)—to stand up in this scene and inform every white and black that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is my brother, my executor, my successor, and the Imam after me, and he whose position in relation to me is Aaron's position in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me. And he is your Master after God, and His Messenger...

The Seventh Occasion Was When the Prophet Said the Status Hadith to Umm Salamah

The seventh occasion was when the Prophet said the Status Hadith to Umm Salamah; there are several versions of this hadith, and it will become clear from the content of these that Umm Salamah's narration is an account of a separate incident that she alone relates, and not any of the other incidents; rather, the Holy Prophet explained this unique status to his great wife, making her a witness to it.

For example, Khārazmī relates in *al-Manāqib*, via his unbroken chain from Aḥmad Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Ibn Dāhir Ibn Yaḥyā, from Ibn ᶜAbbās, who said:

قَالَ رَسولُ اللهِ صلّى الله عليه و آله وسلّم: هَذَا عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طَالِبٍ لَحمُهُ لَحمِي؛ وَدَمُهُ دَمِي؛ وَهُوَ مِنِّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن موسَى إلَّا أنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بعدِي. وَقَالَ: يا أمَّ سَلَمَةَ! اسمَعِي وَاشهَدِي هَذَا عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طَالِبٍ أميرُ المُؤمنينَ؛ وَسَيِّدُ المُسلِمِينَ؛ وَعَيبَةُ عِلمِي؛ وَبَابِيَ الَّذِي اوتَى مِنه؛ وَأخِي فِي الدُّنيا؛ وَأخِي فِي الآخِرَةِ؛ وَمَعِي فِي السَّنَامِ الاعلَى![479]

God's Messenger said: "This Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's flesh is my flesh and blood is my blood, and he is to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me." And [the Prophet] said: "O Umm Salamah, listen to me and be a witness. This Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is the Master of the Faithful, the Master (Sayyid) of the Muslims, the repository of my knowledge, and my door through which entry is achieved; he is my brother in this world, and my brother in the Hereafter, and he is with me on the Highest Height!"

Similarly, the author of *al-Manāqib al-Fākhirah fi al-ᶜItrat al-Ṭāhirah* relates via his chains from Aᶜmash, from ᶜAbāyah Asadī, from Ibn ᶜAbbās, from Umm Salamah, who said:

When Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib had come to visit him, God's Messenger asked me: "O Umm Salamah, do you know him?" [Umm Salamah] answered: "Easy! This is Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib."

God's Messenger said:

نَعَمْ لَحْمُهُ لَحْمِي، وَدَمُهُ دَمِي، وَهُوَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي.

"Yes, his flesh is my flesh, and his blood is my blood, and he is to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me."

And saying as per the previous hadith, he adds the following:

وَقَرِينِي فِي الْآخِرَةِ. اشْهَدِي يَا أُمَّ سَلَمَةَ! إِنَّهُ يُقَاتِلُ النَّاكِثِينَ وَالْقَاسِطِينَ وَالْمَارِقِينَ.[480]

"...and my companion in the Hereafter! Bear witness, O Umm Salamah, that he will fight with the oath-breakers [the enemy combatants at the Battle of the Camel], the deviants [enemy combatants at the Battle of Ṣiffīn], and the through-and-throughs [the enemy combatants at the Battle of Nahrawān]."

And in *Zawā'id al-Musnad*, ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Aḥmad narrates via his chain from Ibn ᶜAbbās that God's Messenger said to Umm Salamah:

يَا أُمَّ سَلَمَةَ عَلِيٌّ مِنِّي، وَأَنَا مِنْ عَلِيٍّ! لَحْمُهُ مِنْ لَحْمِي، وَدَمُهُ مِنْ دَمِي، وَهُوَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى! يَا أُمَّ سَلَمَةَ! اسْمَعِي وَاشْهَدِي! هَذَا عَلِيٌّ سَيِّدُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ.[481]

"O Umm Salamah! Ali is of my kind, and I am of Ali's kind! His flesh is of my flesh, and his blood is of my blood. And he is to me as Aaron was to Moses! O Umm Salamah! Listen and be a witness: This Ali is the Master (Sayyid) of the Muslims!"

The Eighth Occasion on Which the Status Hadith Was Uttered Was When Hasan and Husayn Were Named

The eighth occasion was when the Prophet named Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn, and indeed their stillborn brother, Muḥsin, after Aaron's three sons Shubbar, Shubbayr, and Mushabbir.[482]

In *Ghāyat al-Marām*, [Baḥrānī] relates from Ibn Bābawayh, via his unbroken chain from Abū Ḥamzah Thumālī, from Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, from his father, Ali Ibn al-Husayn, [who] said:

> When Fāṭimah gave birth to Hasan; she told Ali: "Name him!" Ali said: "I would not pre-empt God's Messenger by naming him," so he went to God's Messenger [and informed him]. [The Prophet] said: "I would not pre-empt my Lord, the Honorable and Exalted, by naming him."
>
> God, the Honorable and Exalted, then revealed to Gabriel that there had been a newborn baby for Muhammad!

Now, go down, greet him, congratulate him and say:

إِنَّ عَلِيّاً مِنكَ بِمَنزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى فَسَمِّهِ بِاسْمِ ابْنِ هَارُونَ!

"Ali is to you as Aaron was to Moses! So, name him after Aaron's son!"

[The Prophet] asked [Gabriel]: "What was his name?" [Gabriel] replied: "Shubbar." [The Prophet] said: "My language is Arabic!" [Gabriel] said: "Call him Hasan!" So he named him Hasan.

When His Holiness Imam Husayn was born, God the Honorable and Exalted revealed to Gabriel:

There has been a newborn for Muhammad, so go down, greet him, congratulate him, and say:

إِنَّ عَلِيّاً مِنكَ بِمَنزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِن مُوسَى فَسَمِّهِ بِاسْمِ ابْنِ هَارُونَ!

"Ali is to you as Aaron was to Moses, so name him after Aaron's son!"

So Gabriel descended, congratulated him on Honorable and Exalted God's behalf, [and said: "God] commands you to name him after Aaron's son." [The Prophet] asked: "What was his name?" and he answered: "Shubbayr."

[The Prophet] said: "My language is Arabic!" [Gabriel] said: "Call him Husayn!" So [God's Messenger] named him Husayn.[483]

Ghāyat al-Marām also relates from Shaykh Ṭūsī's *Amālī*, from Imam Sajjād, [who] said:

Asmā' Bint ʿUmays al-Khuthʿamiyyah related to me: "I was the midwife for your grandmother Fāṭimah, God's Messenger's daughter, when Hasan and Husayn were born. So when Fāṭimah delivered Hasan, the Prophet came to me saying: 'O Asmā'! Bring my scion!'"

[Asmā'] said:

So I handed him in a yellow swaddling cloth to [the Prophet]. [The Prophet] looked at it and said: "Did I not tell you not to swaddle the child in a yellow cloth?" The Prophet asked for some white cloth and swaddled Hasan in it. He then recited the call to prayer in his right ear, and the abridged [second] call (*iqāmah*) in his left. He asked Ali: "Have you named this son of yours?" [Imam Ali] replied: "O God's Messenger, I would never pre-empt you by naming him!"

> [The Prophet] stated: "Neither would I pre-empt my Honorable and Exalted Lord!" Thereafter, Gabriel descended and said: "God sends you his greeting, and He says: 'O Muhammad, Ali is to you as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after you! So, name your scion after Aaron's son!'" The Prophet asked: "What was Aaron's son's name?" Gabriel said: "Shubbar." God's Messenger asked: "What does Shubbar mean?" He said: "Hasan."

Asmā' said: "So [the Prophet] named him Hasan. Thereafter, Fāṭimah delivered Husayn. I was her midwife again. The Prophet came to me saying: "[O Asmā'], bring my scion to me!" I handed him in a white swaddling cloth to [the Prophet]. [The Prophet] then did for him as he had done for Hasan [i.e. recited the call to prayer in his right ear and the abridged second call in his left one]." [Asmā'] said: "God's Messenger wept, and then said: 'There will be a [great] event for him; O God, curse his killer! Do not tell Fāṭimah about that!'"

Asmā' says:

> Then on the seventh day, the Prophet came to me and said: "Fetch me my scion!" I took [Husayn] to him, and he did what he had done for Hasan—he sacrificed a dusty white ram for him. He gave the midwife the haunch, shaved Husayn's head, and made a charitable donation of the hair's weight in silver; he rubbed perfume (*khalūq*)[484] on his head, saying: "Smearing the newborn's head with the sheep's blood is one of the customs of the [Days of] Ignorance!"

Asmā' says:

> He then placed [the baby] on his lap, and then said: "O Abā ʿAbdillāh! It is too much for me!" Then he wept. I asked: "May my father and mother be made your sacrifice, you have done [so] today and on the first day. What is it?"
>
> God's Messenger said:
>
> > I am crying for this son of mine whom a renegade unbeliever faction from Banī Umayyah will kill. May God not let my intercession reach them on the Day of Resurrection! A man who has broken the religion, and who disbelieves in Great God will kill him! O God, I ask You for these two what Your close friend Abraham asked You for his offspring. O God, love them and love whoever loves them. Curse whoever hates them as much as Heaven and earth![485]

There is a similar hadith in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, related on the authority of Ibn Bābawayh via his other unbroken chain from Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh Anṣārī; it also makes it clear that when it was time to name Hasan and Husayn, Gabriel was quoting his Lord as saying: "Indeed, Ali is to you as Aaron was to Moses."[486]

In this volume, we have also quoted an important hadith from Ibn Shahr Āshūb's *Manāqib* [quoting in turn] from Abū Bakr Shīrāzī's book, *Fimā Nazala min al-Qurʾān fi Amīr al-Muʾminīn*.

The Ninth and Tenth Occasions on Which the Status Hadith Was Uttered Were in the Prophet's Prayer and Then in a Meeting with Abū Sufyān

The ninth occasion was when Imam Ali was on a journey with the Prophet, and [the Imam] caught a serious fever; the Prophet prayed for him. He referred to Imam Ali's status in his prayer as he later explained to [the Imam]:

وَسَأَلْتُهُ أَنْ يَجْعَلَكَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى وَأَنْ يَشُدَّ بِكَ أَزْرِي وَيُشْرِكَكَ فِي أَمْرِي فَفَعَلَ إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي وَقَدْ رَضِيتَ.[487]

"And I have asked God to make you to me as Aaron was to Moses, to strengthen my back through you and to make you a partner in my mandate! And [God] has done so, except that there is no prophet after me. So, I am satisfied."

This hadith is extremely important, has valuable contents and is narrated on the authority of Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī. It is also related abridgedly by Mullā Ali Muttaqī in *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*. We have cited it in full earlier on in this volume.

The tenth occasion was when Abū Sufyān came and sat beside the Prophet, and asked him who the Imam and leader would be after him. The Prophet told him it would be Imam Ali.

Two Sunni hadiths are related in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, one on the authority of Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muʾmin Shīrāzī, in his book, in his commentary on God the Exalted's words:

عَمَّ يَتَسَآءَلُونَ عَنِ النَّبَإِ الْعَظِيمِ الَّذِي هُمْ فِيهِ مُخْتَلِفُونَ.

What is it about which they question one another? It is about the great tiding on which they disagree (78:1–3). The commentary is via his chain back to Saddī, is attributed [to the Prophet] (*marfūʿ*), and concerns Abū Sufyān. The other is from Ibn Shahr Āshūb, via a Sunni route, from ʿAbd Khayr, from Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, concerning Abū Sufyān. These

two hadiths both have the same meaning; here, we cite Ibn Shahr Āshūb's.

Imam Ali says that Ṣakhr Ibn Ḥarb (Abū Sufyān) came to God's Messenger and sat beside him asking: "O Muhammad, this mandate, after you [die], will it be ours, or who else's?"

[To his question, the Prophet] answered:

يا صَخْرُ الْأَمْرُ بَعْدِي لِمَنْ هُوَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى. فَأَنْزَلَ اللهُ: عَمَّ يَتَسَآءَلُونَ عَنِ النَّبَإِ الْعَظِيمِ الَّذِي هُمْ فِيهِ مُخْتَلِفُونَ.

"O Ṣakhr, the mandate, after me, belongs to him who is to me as Aaron was to Moses." Right then, God revealed:

عَمَّ يَتَسَآءَلُونَ عَنِ النَّبَإِ الْعَظِيمِ الَّذِي هُمْ فِيهِ مُخْتَلِفُونَ.

What is it about which they question one another? It is about the great tiding on which they disagree (78:1–3). There are some who believe in his Guardianship and Caliphate and there are some who reject his Guardianship and Caliphate! God then states:

كَلَّا

No indeed! This is a negative answer to their question:

سَيَعْلَمُونَ خِلَافَتَهُ بَعْدَكَ إِنَّهَا حَقٌّ «ثُمَّ كَلَّا سَيَعْلَمُونَ» يَقُولُ يَعْرِفُونَ خِلَافَتَهُ وَوِلَايَتَهُ إِذْ يَسْأَلُونَ عَنْهَا فِي قُبُورِهِمْ فَلَا يَبْقَى مَيِّتٌ فِي شَرْقٍ وَلَا غَرْبٍ وَلَا فِي بَرٍّ وَلَا فِي بَحْرٍ إِلَّا مُنْكَرٌ وَنَكِيرٌ يَسْأَلَانِهِ عَنْ وَلَايَةِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بَعْدَ الْمَوْتِ يَقُولَانِ لِلْمَيِّتِ: مَنْ رَبُّكَ؟ وَمَا دِينُكَ وَمَنْ نَبِيُّكَ؟ وَمَنْ إِمَامُكَ؟[488]

They will soon know (78:4) that his immediate succession to you is right;

ثُمَّ كَلَّا سَيَعْلَمُونَ

Again, no indeed! They will soon know! (78:5). He is saying they will know he is successor and Master when they are asked in their graves! And there will not be a single dead person in the east, the west, at sea, or on land whom Munkar and Nakīr will not ask after they die about the Master of the Faithful's being Master. They will ask the deceased: "Who is your Lord? What is your religion? Who is your Prophet? And who is your Imam?"

The Eleventh and Twelfth Occasions on Which the Status Hadith Was Uttered Were in Response to Enemy Taunting, and When Khālid Was Dispatched

The eleventh occasion was when one of the enemies said: "Muhammad is like nothing else but a palm tree [grown] on refuse!"

Muhammad Ibn Ibrāhīm, known as Ibn Abī Zaynab Nuʿmānī, relates in his book *al-Ghaybah*, via his chain from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Muʿammar Ibn Rāshid, from Abān Ibn Abī ʿAyyāsh, from Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī, who said:

> [The Master of the Faithful] Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib said: "One day I passed by a man..."—he named him to me—
>
> And he said:
>
> مَامَثَلُ مُحَمَّدٍ إِلَّا كَمَثَلِ نَخْلَةٍ نَبَتَتْ فِي كِبَاةٍ كَلْشَةٍ.
>
> "Muhammad is like nothing but a palm tree growing on a dunghill!" So, I went to the God's Messenger, and informed him of that.
>
> He became angry, and went out angrily. He came to the pulpit. And when the Supporters saw God's Messenger that angry, they reached for their arms. God's Messenger then said:
>
> مَابَالُ أَقْوَامٍ يُعَيِّرُونِي بِقَرَابَتِي وَقَدْ سَمِعُوا مَا أَقُولُ مِنْ تَفْضِيلِ اللهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ إِيَّاهُمْ، وَمَا اخْتَصَّهُمْ مِنْ إِذْهَابِ الرِّجْسِ عَنْهُمْ وَتَطْهِيرِ اللهِ إِيَّاهُمْ، وَقَدْ سَمِعُوا مَا قُلْتُ فِي فَضْلِ أَهْلِ بَيْتِي، وَوَصِيِّي، وَمَا أَكْرَمَهُ اللهُ بِهِ، وَخَصَّهُ، وَفَضَّلَهُ مِنْ سَبْقِهِ إِلَى الإِسْلَامِ وَبَلَائِهِ وَقَرَابَتِهِ مِنِّي وَأَنَّهُ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِمَا.[489]
>
> Why is it that folks insult me by [insulting] my close relatives?! They have heard what I say about God, the Honorable and Exalted, favoring them, and conferring distinction on them—God's keeping impurity away from them and cleansing them.
>
> They have heard what I have said about the merit of my Household, and my executor, what God has conferred upon him, endowed him and favored him with—his being the earliest to embrace Islam, receiving grace, and being related to me, and his being to me as Aaron was to Moses, may God bless them both.

The author of *Ghāyat al-Marām* relates this hadith in greater detail and with more commentary than Sulaym Ibn Qays, with reference

therein to all the Imams, one after another, as well as Jaʿfar Ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ḥamzah Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and Our Lady Fāṭimah.[490]

The twelfth occasion was when the Prophet sent Khālid Ibn Walīd to Banī Muṣṭalaq, but Khālid killed them cold-bloodedly. [The Prophet] then sent Imam Ali in a delegation and uttered the hadith about his status.

According to Ibn Bābawayh's narration of this story via his unbroken chain from Muhammad Ibn Muslim, from Imam Bāqir:

> God's Messenger sent Khālid Ibn Walīd to a tribe called Banī Muṣṭalaq, [a branch] of Banī Judhaymah, and during the Time of Ignorance, there had been marriages between them and Banī Makhzūm.
>
> When Khālid reached them, his herald called the people for prayer. Khālid prayed, and so did they. Then, when it was time for dawn prayer, again his herald called people for the prayer, and they prayed. Next, [Khālid] commanded his cavalry to attack them from every corner and plunder them of everything! In the meantime, Khālid too was busy killing or wounding everyone in his way.
>
> The Muslims asked that group for the letter from God's Messenger to see whether wounding them was still permissible, or whether they were protected in the bosom of Islam! They showed them the letter. They took it to the Prophet and told him what Khālid Ibn Walīd had done [to them—killed, wounded and pillaged without their having done anything wrong].
>
> The Prophet turned towards the *qiblah* [the direction for prayer] and said: "O God! I declare myself to You to be disassociated from Khālid Ibn Walīd!"
>
> Khālid then went to God's Messenger. [The Prophet] told the Master of the Faithful: "Go to Banī Judhaymah from Banī Muṣṭalaq, and recompense them (*arḍihim*) for what Khālid has done." God's Messenger then picked up his feet, saying: "O Ali, put the justice of the people of ignorance under your feet!"
>
> Ali went to them, and when he reached them, he applied God's law among them. And then, when he returned to the Prophet, the [Prophet] told him: "O Ali! Tell us what you have done!"

قَالَ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، عَمَدْتُ فَأَعْطَيْتُ لِكُلِّ دَمٍ دِيَةً، وَلِكُلِّ جَنِينٍ غُرَّةً، وَلِكُلِّ مَالٍ مَالاً، وَفَضَلَتْ مَعِي فَضْلَةٌ، فَأَعْطَيْتُهُمْ لِبُلْغَةِ كِلَابِهِمْ وَجَعَلَةِ رُعَاتِهِمْ، وَفَضَلَتْ مَعِي فَضْلَةٌ فَأَعْطَيْتُهُمْ لِرَوْعَةِ نِسَائِهِمْ وَفَزَعِ صِبْيَانِهِمْ، وَفَضَلَتْ مَعِي فَضْلَةٌ فَأَعْطَيْتُهُمْ لِيَرْضَوْا عَنْكَ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ

قَالَ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: اعْطَيْتَهُمْ لِيَرْضَوْا عَنِّي؟ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْكَ يَا عَلِيُّ، أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي.[491]

[Imam Ali] said:

> O, God's Messenger! I made a resolution, and gave compensation for all bloodshed, for every miscarried [slave] foetus, property for every property loss. I took some surplus with me and I gave it to them to provide for their [hungry] dogs, and [replant] their [damaged and broken] young [date-palms]. [In the end,] there was still some [money] left with me, so I gave it to them for the fright given to their women and the terror to their children. [Finally], there was still some left with me, so I gave it to them so that they would be pleased with you, O God's Messenger.

[The Prophet] asked: "Did you give to them so that they would be pleased with me?! O Ali, May God be pleased with you; you are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no Prophet after me!"

The Thirteenth Instance of the Status Hadith Was When the Prophet Ascended

The thirteenth instance was when the Prophet ascended, when God assigned Ali this status in the nation, in relation to the Prophet.

Shaykh Ṣadūq, Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Bābawayh Qummī, has related via his unbroken chain from Ibn ʿAbbās that the Prophet said:

> As my Lord made me ascend, a call came to me: "O Muhammad!" I answered: "At Your service, O Lord." Then, God inspired me: "O Muhammad! With what have you been endowed among the most exalted host?" I said: "I have no knowledge, O God!" So He said: "Have you appointed from among the Children of Adam an aide, brother, and executor to succeed you (*min baʿdik*)?" I said: "O God! Whom should I choose? You choose for me, O God!" God then revealed to me: "O Muhammad! Out of all the Children of Adam, I have chosen Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib for you!" I said: "O God! My cousin?" So God revealed to me:

إِنَّ عَلِيًّا وَارِثُكَ وَوَارِثُ الْعِلْمِ مِنْ بَعْدِكَ وَصَاحِبُ لِوَائِكَ لِوَاءِ الْحَمْدِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَصَاحِبُ حَوْضِكَ يَسْقِي مَنْ وَرَدَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ مُؤْمِنِي أُمَّتِكَ،

"Ali is your heir, and the inheritor of knowledge after you [die], the carrier of your banner, the banner of praise on the Day of Resurrection, and the keeper (*ṣāḥib*) of your Pool [Kawthar], watering all believers from

your nation, who come to it!" God then revealed to me: "O Muhammad! I have sworn a righteous oath by Myself that no one who hates you or your pure, good progeny will drink from that Pool; verily, verily!

"O Muhammad! I will admit into Paradise all your nation except those of My creatures who decline!" I asked: "O God, would anyone decline to enter Heaven?"

So God revealed to me: "Yes," and I asked: "How can they decline?"

فَأَوْحَى اللهُ إِلَيَّ: يَا مُحَمَّدُ اخْتَرْتُكَ مِنْ خَلْقِي، وَاخْتَرْتُ لَكَ وَصِيًّا مِنْ بَعْدِكَ، وَجَعَلْتُهُ مِنْكَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدَكَ، وَأَلْقَيْتُ مَحَبَّتَهُ فِي قَلْبِكَ، وَجَعَلْتُهُ أَبًا لِوُلْدِكَ، فَحَقُّهُ بَعْدَكَ عَلَى أُمَّتِكَ كَحَقِّكَ عَلَيْهِمْ فِي حَيَاتِكَ، فَمَنْ جَحَدَ حَقَّهُ جَحَدَ حَقَّكَ، وَمَنْ أَبَى أَنْ يُوَالِيَهُ فَقَدْ أَبَى أَنْ يَدْخُلَ الْجَنَّةَ، فَخَرَرْتُ لِلَّهِ سَاجِدًا شُكْرًا لِمَا أَنْعَمَ عَلَيَّ.

So God revealed to me: "O Muhammad! I have chosen you out of all My creatures and I have chosen an executor to succeed you (*min baʿdik*), and made him to you as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after you. And I have cast love for him into your heart; and made him a father to your children. So your nation's duty to him is like their duty to you within your lifetime!"

At that point, a herald called: "O Muhammad, raise [your head], and ask Me. I will grant [it] to you!" I said: "O God! Unite my nation in acceptance of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as Master after I [die] so that they all come to me at my Pool [Kawthar] on the Day of Resurrection!"

God then revealed to me:

> O Muhammad! I have decreed among My servants before I created them, and My decree is fixed among them, to destroy whomever I please. I have given your knowledge to him after you; and made him your successor after you to your people and nation, as a [firm] resolution by Myself. I will not let into Heaven anyone who hates him, is his enemy, and rejects him as Master after you. Whoever hates him hates you, and whoever hates you hates Me! Whoever is his enemy is your enemy, and whoever is your enemy is My enemy. Whoever loves him, loves you, and whoever loves you, loves Me! I have given him this grace! And I have favored you by having issue from his loins eleven rightly guided ones (*mahdīs*) who are all your line—by the chaste devotee. And I will have one of them issue, behind whom Jesus son of Mary will pray. He will fill the earth with justice, just as it has been filled by the people with injustice and inequity. I will through him deliver from doom, and will through him

guide [away] from error, and will through him cure the blind and heal the sick.

I then asked: "O God! When will that be?"

So Honorable and Exalted God revealed to me:

It will be when knowledge is pushed aside, and beauty rules (*zahar*), when there are many reciters but there is little action in accordance with [the Qur'an], there is much killing and few jurists of the religion, there are many jurists of error and treachery, there are many poets, people have adopted graves as mosques, copies of the Qur'an have become bejeweled and mosques have become adorned with gold, there is much tyranny and corruption, depravity is prevalent, and your nation is encouraged to engage in it, and discouraged from doing what is proper, men satisfy themselves with other men, and women with other women, your nation's rulers and their governors are wicked, their aides are oppressors and their knowledgeable people (*dhawū al-raʾy minhum*) are sinful. Thereupon, there will be three subsidences, one in the east—the land will sink and be submerged—and one in North Africa (*al-Maghrib*), and another in the Arab Peninsula. The destruction in Basra will be at the hand of a man from your progeny whom the Zanzibarians[492] will follow...And the reappearance of a man, from the progeny of Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib!...And the appearance of the antichrist (Dajjāl) in the east, from Sijistān,[493] and [next] the Sufyānī will appear!

I said: "[O] my God! When, after my death, will these seditions take place?"

[My Lord] revealed to me and told me about the scourge of the Umayyads, and the strife caused by the progeny of my uncle ʿAbbās! And God told me about everything that was and would be until the Day of Resurrection.

And when I descended to earth, I communicated all that to my cousin, so I delivered the message.

وَلِلّٰهِ الْحَمْدُ عَلَى ذٰلِكَ كَمَا حَمِدَ النَّبِيُّونَ وَكَمَا حَمِدَ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ قَبْلِي وَمَا هُوَ خَالِقُهُ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ[494]

And praise be to God for all that, just as all the other prophets praised Him and just as everything before me has praised Him and [as] everything He will create until the Day of Resurrection [will praise Him].

The Fourteenth Instance of the Status Hadith Was from the Prophet's Deathbed, in the Presence of the Anṣār

The fourteenth occasion was when the Prophet was giving instructions from his deathbed in the presence of the Anṣār.

There is in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, section ten, a truly excellent narration, a quote from Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's *al-Ṭarā'if*, confirming the Prophet's explicit testamentary instruction to the Supporters of Medina, from his deathbed, and concerning Imam Ali's successorship. This hadith is on the authority of Imam Mūsā Kāẓim concerning the Prophet's testamentary instruction to the Supporters. We cited it in its entirety earlier on in this volume of *Knowing the Imams*. Here, we content ourselves with just citing the part that is relevant to the Status Hadith:

اللهَ اللهَ فِي أَهْلِ بَيْتِي، مَصَابِيحِ الظَّلَامِ، وَمَعَادِنِ الْعِلْمِ وَيَنَابِيعِ الْحِكَمِ وَمُسْتَقَرِّ الْمَلَائِكَةِ، مِنْهُمْ وَصِيِّي وَأَمِينِي وَوَارِثِي، مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، أَلَا هَلْ بَلَّغْتُ؟[495]

"Remember God; remember God though my Household! They are the lamps in the darkness, the treasure troves of knowledge, the sources of wisdom, and the shelter for the angels! And my executor, trustee, and heir is among them [who is] to me as Aaron was to Moses! Lo! Have I delivered?"

It must be noted that these fourteen different instances of the Status Hadith are those in which the Prophet specifically referred to Imam Ali's status in relation to the Prophet—that it was like Aaron's in relation to Moses. Otherwise, there are several occasions on which the Prophet referred to him as his aide or prayed for him to be made his aide. Similarly these are just the fourteen occasions that we, with God's assistance, have discovered after extensive research; however, it may be that an experienced researcher can discover even more. As the Prophet said from his deathbed to Imam Ali:

فَإِنَّكَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، وَلَكَ بِهَارُونَ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ إِذَا اسْتَضْعَفَهُ قَوْمُهُ وَكَادُوا يَقْتُلُونَهُ، فَاصْبِرْ لِظُلْمِ قُرَيْشٍ إِيَّاكَ وَتَظَاهُرِهِمْ عَلَيْكَ فَإِنَّكَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ وَمَنْ تَبِعَهُ.

"For you are to me as Aaron was to Moses; you have a good example in Aaron when his tribe considered him to be weak, and nearly killed him! So show forbearance in the face of Quraysh's oppression of you and their uniting against you, because you are equivalent to Aaron and whoever followed him!" It is from *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Ni'mah*.

It was after Fāṭimah went to see the Prophet and wept in front of him. The Prophet then explained Ali's merits and achievements to her, so in fact this brings our total to fifteen instances, not fourteen![496]

It is also clear that the hadith on the authority of Imam Ṣādiq—hadith 7, from *Yanābiʿ al-Mawaddah*, which has ten instances on which the Prophet explained Imam Ali's status, only refers to the most important ones, excluding the rest.[497]

Discussion on the Meaning of the Status Hadith

Note that the discussion on the Status Hadith thus far has only addressed its chain of transmission and the instances on which it was uttered by the Prophet. It is relied on as evidence in arguments as shown by scholars' books; and the scholars who had mentioned it. However, there has not yet been any independent theological discussion, i.e. of its content and meaning and how it proves Imam Ali's successorship, executorship, and [role as] aide and Imam. They were only allusions to and summaries of ʿAllāmah Amīnī's discussion that we cited earlier on in this volume of *Knowing the Imams*, and we have reached the end of the discussion. Sayyid Murtaḍā, ʿAlam al-Hudā, has a lengthy discussion in the book *al-Shāfī*,[498] and in *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfī*.[499] What he says is commentary on and complementary to Ṣadūq's discussion in *Maʿānī al-Akhbār*;[500] Majlisī quotes from both these scholars in *Biḥār al-Anwār*;[501] it is also cited by Shaykh Mufīd in *al-Irshād*,[502] Shaykh Ṭabrisī in *Iʿlām al-Warā*,[503] Ibn Shahr Āshūb in *Manāqib*,[504] Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Muẓaffar in *Dalāʾil al-Ṣidq*,[505] and many other luminaries and scholars in their books.

It is best for us, before plunging into this discussion, to cite two narrations that explain this hadith. The first is related by Shaykh Ṣadūq via his unbroken chain from Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saʿīd Hāshimī in Kufa, via his unbroken chain from Abū Hārūn ʿAbdi, [who] said:

> I asked Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh Anṣārī what [the Prophet's] words to [Imam] Ali mean: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me."
>
> قَالَ: اسْتَخْلَفَهُ بِذَلِكَ وَاللهِ عَلَى أُمَّتِهِ فِي حَيَاتِهِ وَبَعْدَ وَفَاتِهِ، وَفَرَضَ عَلَيْهِمْ طَاعَتَهُ، فَمَنْ لَمْ يَشْهَدْ لَهُ بَعْدَ هَذَا الْقَوْلِ بِالْخِلَافَةِ فَهُوَ مِنَ الظَّالِمِينَ.
>
> He said: "By God, he appointed him thereby as Caliph over his nation both within his lifetime and after his death. He made obedience to him compulsory for them. Therefore, after this statement, whoever does not testify to his being Caliph is a wrongdoer!"

The next is related by Shaykh Ṣadūq from Aḥmad Ibn Hassan Qaṭṭān, via his unbroken chain from Abū Khālid Kābulī, [who] said:

> It was said to the Master of Worshipers, Ali Ibn al-Husayn, that people say that the best of people after God's Messenger is Abū Bakr, then Omar, then Othman, then Ali!
>
> [The Imam] asked: "So, what do they do about Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib's narration from Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, from the Prophet, [who] said to Ali: 'You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me'?!"[506]

Shaykh Mufīd says, after telling how Imam Ali went to the Prophet on the cliff, to complain to him about the hypocrites, how the Prophet replied to him:

ارْجِعْ يَا أَخِي إِلَى مَكَانِكَ، فَإِنَّ الْمَدِينَةَ لَا تَصْلُحُ إِلَّا بِي أَوْ بِكَ، فَأَنْتَ خَلِيفَتِي فِي أَهْلِ بَيْتِي وَدَارِ هِجْرَتِي وَقَوْمِي، أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي

"O my brother, return to your place! Medina will only be at peace with either you or me! For you are my deputy (*khalīfah*) among my Household, the home of my migration and my people! Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?"

This statement by the Prophet is his explicit appointment (*naṣṣ*) of the Master of the Faithful as leader (Imam), setting him apart from everyone else as Caliph; he proves thereby a merit unshared by anyone else! He also predicates thereby of him all the statuses Aaron held in relation to Moses, except [aspects] for example of brotherhood ordinarily understood to be an exception, and he made an [explicit] exception of prophethood. Can you not see that he awarded him every status Aaron held in relation to Moses apart from anything expressly (*lafẓan*) or implicitly (*ʿaqlan*) made an exception?!

Whoever reflects on the meanings of the Qur'an, and peruses the hadiths and narrations, will realize that Aaron was Moses's paternal and maternal brother, his partner to the mandate (i.e. his Guardianship and Imamate), and his aide to his prophethood and in delivering his Lord's messages. God strengthened [Moses's] back through [Aaron], and he was the Caliph over his nation; [Ali's] was the same Imamate as [Aaron's], and obedience to [Ali] was mandatory just as it was to [Aaron]. Aaron was the most beloved of Moses's people to [Moses] and the best of them in [Moses's] sight. Honorable and Exalted God quotes Moses as follows:

قَالَ رَبِّ اشْرَحْ لِي صَدْرِي، وَيَسِّرْ لِي أَمْرِي وَاحْلُلْ عُقْدَةً مِنْ لِسَانِي يَفْقَهُوا قَوْلِي وَاجْعَلْ لِي وَزِيرًا مِنْ أَهْلِي هَارُونَ أَخِي اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي كَيْ نُسَبِّحَكَ كَثِيرًا وَنَذْكُرَكَ كَثِيرًا.

He said: "Lord! Broaden my chest! And ease for me my task, and loosen the knot from my tongue, that they may understand my words. And appoint an aide for me from my people—Aaron, my brother. Strengthen my back by him, and associate him with me in my affair so that we may glorify You abundantly and remember You abundantly" (20:25–34).

God answered his prayer and granted him his request by saying:

قَدْ أُوتِيتَ سُؤْلَكَ يَا مُوسَى.

He said: "You are granted your petition, Moses!" (20:36).

God also quotes Moses as follows:

وَقَالَ مُوسَى لِأَخِيهِ هَارُونَ اخْلُفْنِي فِي قَوْمِي وَأَصْلِحْ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ سَبِيلَ الْمُفْسِدِينَ.

And Moses said to his brother, Aaron: "Be my successor among my people and keep the peace, and do not follow the mischief-makers' course" (7:142).

And based on these verses, as the Prophet awarded Imam Ali the same status in relation to him as Aaron held in relation to Moses, he thus predicated of Imam Ali all of Aaron's rank and station, except those aspects of sibling relationship that are implicitly excluded, and prophethood, as expressly excluded. This is an achievement that no other creature shared with the Master of the Faithful, and no one ever in any circumstances equaled or came close to him in terms of the purport of this essence and meaning.[507]

Shaykh Muẓaffar says after setting out these verses, the Status Hadith, God's Messenger's prayer after these verses were revealed: "Appoint Ali as an aide to me from my family, Ali, my brother," and the answer to his prayer: "O, Aḥmad you have been granted your petition."[508]

[Shaykh Muẓaffar says:] "Even though the revelation of this blessed verse had nothing to do with the Master of the Faithful, it can still be relied on as evidence of his Imamate when adduced in conjunction with the hadiths quoting the Prophet's prayer, so it is correct to file them under the Qur'anic proofs of his Imamate."[509]

Now, after citing these two narrations and Mufid's and Muẓaffar's comments, learning that these blessed verses, along with the prophetic hadiths, the Prophet's prayer that Ali be awarded an Aaronesque status, and the answer to the Prophet's prayer just like the answer to Moses's, altogether dispels any doubt readers or listeners may have about Imam Ali's status as Imam, Master, Caliph, and aide. Now let us comment on and explain the Status Hadith and any points

that arise. We say: As a general rule, in this hadith, all the level and status predicated of Aaron was predicated of Imam Ali; the only exceptions are that he was obviously not literally the Prophet's brother, and was not a prophet, as expressly excluded by the Prophet. Part of Aaron's status was as Imam, and leader to the nation while Moses was away on Mount Sinai. Secondly it also included his, as opposed to anyone else in the nation's, being Caliph and aide, both within [Moses's] lifetime and after his death, providing Aaron survived Moses. All this status was expressly predicated of Imam Ali by the Status Hadith, both within the Prophet's lifetime and after his death. The status meant in the hadith is general and all-inclusive for two reasons. Firstly: By applying the same common-sense premises (*muqaddimāt al-ḥikmah*) as in the study of legal presumptions (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), if a specific status is intended by the word *manzilah*, such as specifically as his aide, specifically as Imam, or any other, it should be made clear; otherwise the meaning is general. Intending a specific meaning without specifying and explaining is irrational. It is also irrational to intend an ambiguous, indeterminate meaning. A wise speaker would not do so. Thus, by the process of elimination, the only possible intended meaning is general or all-inclusive. Secondly, excepting means excluding from a general, all-inclusive meaning. Because this hadith says:

الا انه لا نبي بعدي

"except that there is no prophet after me," it means that Prophethood, which was part of [Aaron's] status but is excluded from [Ali's] status, is excluded from an otherwise all-encompassing or all-inclusive status.

Note also that

بعدي

"after me" in

الا انه لا نبي بعدي

"except that there is no prophet after me" does not mean "after my death," but rather "after my prophethood." The Prophet means: "After my prophethood, there is no other prophethood—whether within my lifetime or after my death."

Thus it is clear that

انت مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى

"You are to me as Aaron was to Moses" means all aspects of Aaronesque status: as aide, Imam, and Caliph, both within the Prophet's lifetime and after his death. Just as all these aspects of status were

predicated of Aaron, they were predicated of the Master of the Faithful. Thus the Prophet's leaving the Imam in charge of Medina for the duration of the Tabūk expedition—one of the instances of this hadith had this significance.

And in general, whoever considers this hadith will see that the Prophet was making clear Imam Ali's elevated position as second in command, in every respect: judicial (*qaḍā'*), executive (*ḥukūmah*), and military command, as Master and Governor! The Prophet was number one, and the Master of the Faithful was not just Imam after the Prophet's death, but was so even within his lifetime, albeit second to him, because his leadership (*Imāmah*) and rank as Master are hierarchically below (*fī ṭūl*) the Prophet's, not level with them (*fī ʿarḍihimā*). This is the meaning of the status of second only to the Prophet to be inferred from this hadith, and is the subject under discussion. It means second only to the Prophet both during his absence and after his death, and indeed even when he was present, albeit second to him, which is also of course what it meant to be his aide.[510]

It may be contended that the Status Hadith may predicate all aspects of Aaronesque status to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, but because we know that Aaron was only Moses's deputy when he was away during his lifetime, and not after Moses's death, because Aaron died before his brother Moses, we cannot use this hadith to prove Imam Ali's successorship to the Prophet.

However, our response to that is that we can, from this Status Hadith, predicate of Imam Ali in relation to the Prophet all aspects of Aaron's status in relation to Moses.

We just have to remember that Aaron's status was partly contingent and partly non-contingent. The contingent part to Aaron's status was that if he had lived, he would have been Moses's successor; the same contingency also applied to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, i.e. provided he was still alive on the date of the Prophet's death, he would be the Prophet's successor. The only difference is that Aaron did not fulfil the condition by surviving Moses, but Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib did survive the Prophet. As all logicians say: The correctness of a conditional assertion does not depend upon the actualization of its premise and the actualization of its conditional. Rather, whenever the premise is actualized and the condition is fulfilled, the logical consequent follows. If the condition is not fulfilled, this does not affect the correctness of the conditional assertion. At most the consequent follows if the condition is fulfilled but does not if it is not. Aaron did not fulfil the con-

dition of surviving Moses, so he did not actually become his successor, but Imam Ali did survive the Prophet, so he did become his successor.

Shaykh Ṣadūq gives a good example, which helps us understand this principle better:

> Suppose the caliph says to his minister: "You must give Zayd a dinar every day on which he meets you! You must also give ʿAmr the same as what I have stipulated you give Zayd! So ʿAmr is due the same as Zayd."
>
> Then if Zayd went on three days to the minister, met him, and received three dinars from him, but then stopped going to him while ʿAmr went to the minister on three days and took his three dinars, ʿAmr is entitled to return to him on the fourth and fifth days, and so on evermore as long as he lives! The minister has to give ʿAmr a dinar as long as ʿAmr lives and comes to him every day, even though Zayd received no more from the minister than the first three days' payment.
>
> And the minister is not entitled to say to ʿAmr: "I will give you no more than I have given to Zayd," because Zayd had been given a condition that whenever he went to the minister, he would be given his dinar. If Zayd had [continued] going [to the minister beyond the first three days], he would have received more. ʿAmr fulfilled his duty by going [to the minister], so [the minister] had to give him more dinars.
>
> Similarly, if Aaron the Executor had been given a condition that he had to survive Moses to be his Caliph over his nation, and Ali had been given the same condition to survive the Prophet, and Ali did survive, it is just like the example we gave with Zayd and ʿAmr. If the analogy is drawn correctly, this is inevitable.[511]

A non-contingent attribute (*waṣf taḥqīqī*) would be if Aaron's Caliphate was actualized during Moses's lifetime. Similarly, Imam Ali's was actualized during the Prophet's lifetime.

That is, within Moses' lifetime, Aaron actually became his Caliph, but his Caliphate ended, and so its mandate terminated when he died before Moses. Imam Ali actually became the Prophet's Caliph within [the Prophet's] lifetime, and his Caliphate continued after the Prophet's death by the Imam's surviving the Prophet. Hence the Imam remained the nation's Master and Imam after the Prophet's death.

Obviously, contingent and non-contingent are just two alternative ways of explaining how Imam Ali's status was analogous to Aaron's; the only difference between them is that if it was contingent, it

was contingent upon Aaron's surviving Moses, but if it was non-contingent, then it was realized within Moses's lifetime.

They are both valid interpretations of the hadith about Imam Ali's status.

If anyone were to contend: How can we be certain that Aaron would have been Moses's Caliph if he had survived Moses? our response is: This can be understood from Aaron's status and level. First of all, Aaron was a prophet, and, second only to Moses, he was the best of the people of his time. He was in Moses's sight the most reliable person and was his deputy in all fields of knowledge.

Aaron was known to occupy all this position and status, so if anyone rejects any of it, then he has rejected all of it. Therefore, if hypothetically Aaron had survived Moses, but not been his successor, it would have to have been for reason of some deficiency, ignorance, or error issuing from him. These accidents cannot be accidental to a prophet. Therefore, without any doubt, if Aaron had survived Moses, he would have certainly been his successor (*la khalafahu*).[512]

The above argument that we have presented is the truth of the matter, and it is an adequate response to the weak contentions raised by Sunnis (*mukhālifīn*).

However, it is not correct what Shaykh Ṣadūq says in response to the same contention that the Prophet only awarded Ali this status within his lifetime. The following objections can be made to [Shaykh Ṣadūq's] argument.

He says: "It has thus been proven that the status that God's Messenger awarded Ali in the Status Hadith was status for [the Imam] for after [the Prophet's] death, not for within the [Prophet's] lifetime."

And after long and detailed commentary, he adduces two proofs for that.

Firstly, as negating prophethood, in

الا انه لا نبي بعدي

"...except that there is no prophet after me" was because of merit and status that would otherwise have necessitated prophethood, the time when that prophethood was negatively predicated of Ali had to have been at the same time as when that honor was predicated of him just like Aaron. Because the relevant time for negative predication of prophethood was after God's Messenger's death, this honor cannot have been predicated of Ali within [the Prophet's] lifetime. That would mean linguistic nonsensicality because

انت مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى

"You are to me as Aaron was to Moses" would have to refer to within God's Messenger's lifetime, and

الا انه لا نبي بعدي

"... except that there is no prophet after me" would have to refer to after the Prophet's death. However, that which is made an exception, and that from which the exception is made, must be from the same timeframe.

Secondly: prophethood was excluded after [the Prophet's lifetime, but if [Imam Ali] was, within [the Prophet's] lifetime, awarded status [so elevated] as to necessitate prophethood, Ali had to have been a prophet within God's Messenger's lifetime, which is [obviously] false.

And if anyone were to contend that the Prophet's word

بعدي

means "after my prophethood" and not "after I die," this would be wrong. It would necessarily follow from the hadith related by all Muslims that says:

انه لا نبي بعد محمد

"There is indeed no prophet after Muhammad" means that there is no [further] prophet within the Prophet's lifetime, but there is no problem in there being [further] prophets after his death.[513]

Shaykh Ṭabrisī also makes mistakes in his reasoning. He says in the second argument on the basis of this hadith:

> As the word
>
> بعدي
>
> "after me" refers to after the Prophet's death, this hadith means that all of Aaron's status was only predicated of Imam Ali after the Prophet's death. This is because when an unqualified exception is made, the remainder must also be unqualified. Similarly, if the exception is qualified by time or situation, then the remainder must also be qualified by that time or place. Can you not see that when someone says:
>
> ضربت اصحابي الا ان زيدا في الدار
>
> "I beat my friends even though Zayd was in the house," it means that he beat his friends in the house?[514]

Ibn Shahr Āshūb has made a similar mistake; he says:

> ...and because the circumstances in which the exception is made must be [the same circumstances] in which the remainder is predicated because there must be a correlation between the two.
>
> And as God's Messenger negated by making an exception of Prophethood after his death, everything else also has to be predicated [after his death].[515]

These great men all made the same mistake because they interpreted the word

بعدي

"after me" as after the Prophet's death, so they had to interpret the beginning of the hadith as referring to the same timeframe. There are many problems with this interpretation. For example, the word

بعد

"after," is unqualified, referring to both within the Prophet's lifetime and after his death. This is because if we interpret it as referring to after his prophethood, then this does not give the mistaken impression that there could be further prophets after his death. If it is unqualified, it negates the possibility of there ever being any further prophet. When an exception is unqualified, there is no harm in the remainder's being qualified. For example, when we say:

أكرمت اصحابي كافة الا زيدا في الدار

"I honored all my friends except Zayd at home," it does not give the impression that all the friends who were honored were at home. Moreover, this hadith was indubitably said when the Prophet was setting off on the Tabūk expedition, as unanimously accepted by all Sunni and Shi'a. Then how can we say that in this hadith, the Prophet placed Imam Ali in charge of Medina, but that it refers specifically to the Imam's status after the Prophet's death? Rather, this hadith gives the *prima facie* impression that already within the Prophet's lifetime Imam Ali was unqualifiedly like Aaron, and he had all the [Aaronesque] status; he was the second-in-command, second only to the Prophet. This, the obvious meaning of the hadith, is incompatible with interpreting the status referred to in it as [status] specifically after the Prophet's death.

Conclusion and the Answer to the Question Why the Majority Strayed by Not Following Imam Ali

In any case, after so many clear declarations by the Prophet concerning Imam Ali's appointment as his successor and concerning his Aaronesque status, if anyone asks how we can disobey such clear instructions, put Ali under house arrest, and usurp his right, and how we can conceive of the majority's rejecting him after the Prophet's death, the answer lies in our master ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī's concise definition of the Shiʿa:

> The Shiʿa have reached this conclusion—that the Prophet did give a clear instruction designating his successor—through research and curiosity to understand the nature of instinctive human perception and the lifestyle of wise people, through scrutiny of the Islamic religion's Weltanschauung embodied in reawakening innate religiosity and the Prophet's sociological method, and by studying the disturbing events that occurred after the Prophet's death, the difficulties that the Muslims have gone through throughout history, and the negligence of the Islamic governments in the first centuries after the Migration. Verses and hadiths prove this, such as the Guardianship Verse, the Ghadīr Hadith, the Ark Hadith, the Two Weighty Things Hadith, the Truth Hadith, the Status Hadith, the hadith about the invitation to the Prophet's closest relatives, and so on; however, they have been purposely misinterpreted and ignored out of various motives.[516]

Ibn Makkī Nīlī also provides an excellent response in his poetry because if consensus (*ijmaʿ*) is always correct, then why was the consensus always to show disdain for the truth and to seek to refute it! In response to two couplets by Yūsuf Wāsiṭī criticizing Imam Ali for delaying in pledging allegiance to the Saqīfah after the Prophet's death, Nīlī says:

1 أَلَا قُلْ لِمَنْ قَالَ فِي كُفْرِهِ وَرَبِّي عَلَى قَوْلِهِ شَاهِدُ

2 إِذَا اجْتَمَعَ النَّاسُ فِي وَاحِدٍ وَخَالَفَهُمْ فِي الرِّضَا وَاحِدُ

3 فَقَدْ دَلَّ إِجْمَاعُهُمْ كُلُّهُمْ عَلَى أَنَّهُ عَقْلُهُ فَاسِدُ

4 كَذَبْتَ وَقَوْلُكَ غَيْرُ الصَّحِيحِ وَزَعْمُكَ يَنْقُدُهُ النَّاقِدُ

5 فَقَدْ اجْتَمَعَتْ قَوْمُ مُوسَى جَمِيعاً عَلَى الْعِجْلِ يَا رِجْسُ يَا مَارِدُ

6 وَدَامُوا عُكُوفاً عَلَى عِجْلِهِمْ وَهَارُونُ مُنْفَرِدٌ فَارِدُ

فَكَانَ الْكَثِيرُ هُمُ الْمُخْطِئُونَ وَكَانَ الْمُصِيبُ هُوَ الْوَاحِدُ[517] 7

1. Let it be known! Tell him, who says in his disbelief; and my Lord is witness to what he says!
2. "When everybody agrees on one [man], but one opposes them in contentment,
3. The consensus of all of them proves the unsoundness of that lone person's mind."
4. (Tell him): "You are lying! What you say is not correct! And a [critic] would criticize your claim!"
5. Because Moses's people all worshiped the calf, O unclean, O renegade!
6. And they cleaved to their calf; while Aaron was isolated, all alone.
7. So, the majority were wrong, and the lone man was right.

In any case, by God's Power and Strength, we wish to conclude this volume of *Knowing the Imams*, and aptly so, with couplets by Qāḍī Jalīs:

حُبِّي لِآلِ رَسُولِ اللهِ يعصِمُنِي مِنْ كُلِّ إِثْمٍ، وَهُمْ ذُخْرِي وَهُمْ جَاهِي 1

يَا شِيعَةَ الْحَقِّ قُولِي بِالْوَفَاءِ لَهُمْ وَفَخْرِي بِهِمْ مَنْ شِئْتُ أُوبَاهِي 2

إِذَا عَلِقْتُ بِحَبْلٍ مِنْ أَبِي حَسَنٍ فَقَدْ عَلِقْتُ بِحَبْلٍ فِي يَدِ اللهِ 3

حَمَى الإِلَهُ بِهِ الإِسْلَامَ فَهْوَ بِهِ يَزْهَى عَلَى كُلِّ دِينٍ قَبْلَهُ زَاهِ 4

بَعْلُ الْبَتُولِ وَمَا كُنَّا لِنَهْتَدِيَ أَئِمَّةٌ مِنْ نَبِيِّ اللهِ لَوْلَاهِي 5

نَصَّ النَّبِيُّ عَلَيْهِ فِي الْغَدِيرِ فَمَا زَوَاهُ إِلَّا ظَنِينٌ دِينُهُ وَاهِ[518] 6

1. My love for God's Messenger's Family will protect me from every sin, for they are my saving and my standing.
2. O followers of the truth! I say be faithful to them; and my honor is through them, my hope and whom I am proud of.
3. If I cling to a rope from Abū al-Hasan, then I am clinging to a rope in God's Hand!
4. God protected Islam through him, so through him it outshines every shining religion preceding it.
5. The devotee's (Batūl's) husband, were it not for her, no Imams of God's Prophet's kind would guide us.
6. The Prophet appointed him on the [Day of] Ghadīr; therefore, no one put him in the corner, except someone whose weak faith is suspected!

Now, praise be to God, this, the tenth volume of *Knowing the Imams*, about the Status Hadith, has come to an end: on the night of the twenty-fifth of Jumādā al-Ūlā, one thousand, four hundred seven AH.

اللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ نَبِيِّنَا وَ آلِهِ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى مَلَائِكَتِكَ الْمُقَرَّبِينَ، وَصَلِّ عَلَيْهِ وَ آلِهِ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى أَنْبِيَاءِكَ الْمُرْسَلِينَ، وَصَلِّ عَلَيْهِ وَ آلِهِ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى عِبَادِكَ الصَّالِحِينَ، وَأَفْضَلَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ يَا رَبَّ الْعَالَمِينَ، صَلَوٰةً تَبْلُغُنَا بَرَكَتُهَا، وَيَنَالُنَا نَفْعُهَا، وَيُسْتَجَابُ لَهَا دُعَاؤُنَا، إِنَّكَ أَكْرَمُ مَنْ رُغِبَ إِلَيْهِ؛ وَأَكْفَى مَنْ تُوُكِّلَ عَلَيْهِ وَأَعْطَى مَنْ سُئِلَ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ، وَأَنْتَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ.[519]

God bless our Prophet Muhammad and his Family, as You have blessed Your favored angels, and bless him and his Family, just as you have blessed Your envoy prophets, and bless him and his Family, just as you have blessed Your righteous obedient servants, and better than that, O Lord of all the worlds—a blessing whose benediction will reach us, whose benefit will reach us, and through which our prayer may be answered!

You are the most generous of those who are beseeched; and [are] the most sufficient of those in whom trust is placed!

Notes

[1] Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs relates God's Messenger's prayer for Ali to be appointed successor and given the same status as Aaron in relation to Moses, when

انما وليكم الله ورسوله

Your Guardian can only be God; His Messenger (5:55) was revealed, [quoting] from Thaʿlabī via several routes, including from ʿAbāyah Ibn al-Ribʿī that he had said:

> ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās was sitting by the Well of Zam Zam and saying: "God's Messenger said..." and explaining to the people the hadiths related from God's Messenger, when a turbaned man approached. Every time Ibn ʿAbbās said: "God's Messenger said..." the man would say: "God's Messenger said..." Ibn ʿAbbās then asked: "I ask you by God, who are you?" He then lifted the turban off his face and said:
>
> > O people! Whoever knows me, knows me, but for whoever does not know me, I am Jundub Ibn Junādah Badrī, Abū Dharr Ghifārī. With these two ears of mine, and if not, may they go deaf, I heard God's Messenger say, and I saw him with these eyes of mine, and if not, may they go blind, when he said:
> >
> > علیٌ قائد البررة، وقاتل الكفرة منصورٌ من نصره، مخذولٌ من خذله
> >
> > "Ali is the Leader of the good, and the slayer of the disbelievers. Whoever helps him, will be helped, but whoever forsakes him will be forsaken."
>
> O people! Lo! I prayed the midday prayer with God's Messenger when a beggar [started] begging in the mosque, but no one gave him anything. The beggar then raised his hands up to Heaven and said: "O God! Bear witness that I begged in God's Messenger's Mosque but no one gave me anything." Meanwhile, Ali was bowing, and so he signaled to him with the little finger of his right hand, on which he was wearing a ring. Thereupon, the beggar approached to take the ring from his little finger. That was witnessed by (*bi ʿayn*) God's Messenger. Then, when the Prophet finished his prayer, he lifted his head up to Heaven and said:

اللهمّ انّ موسى سألك فقال: «رَبِّ اشْرَحْ لِي صَدْرِي وَيَسِّرْ لِي أَمْرِي وَاحْلُلْ عُقْدَةً مِن لِسَانِي يَفْقَهُوا قَوْلِي وَاجْعَلْ لِي وَزِيرًا مِن أَهْلِي هَارُونَ أَخِي اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي» فأنزلت عليه قرآناً ناطقاً «سَنَشُدُّ عَضُدَكَ بِأَخِيكَ وَنَجْعَلُ لَكُمَا سُلْطَانًا فَلَا يَصِلُونَ إِلَيْكُمَا بِآيَاتِنَا أَنْتُمَا وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَكُمَا الْغَالِبُونَ». اللهمّ وأنا محمد نبيك وصفيك اللهم فاشرح لي صدري ويسر لي أمري واجعل لي وزيرًا من أهلي عليا أشدد به ظهري.

O God, Moses petitioned You asking: *O my Lord! Broaden my chest for me! And make my affair easy to me, and loose a knot from my tongue [that] they may understand what I say. And appoint for me a helper from my family, Aaron, my brother. Strengthen my back by him and make him share my affair"* (20:25–32).

And You revealed Qur'an to him, saying: *He said: We will strengthen your arm with your brother, and We will give you both an authority, so that they shall not reach you; (go) with Our signs...* (28:35).

O God! And I am Muhammad Your Prophet and Chosen One! O God, broaden my chest! And make my affair easy for me. And appoint for me a helper from my family, Ali. Strengthen my back through him!

Abū Dharr says:

No sooner had God's Messenger finished speaking than Gabriel descended from Transcendent God's presence, and said: "O Muhammad, recite." [The Prophet] asked: "What should I recite?" Gabriel said:

Recite

إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلوةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَوةَ وَهُمْ رَاكِعُونَ

Your Guardian can only be God; His Messenger, and, those who believe, who establish prayer and give charity while bowing (5:55).

Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Ṭarā'if* (Qom: Khayyam, 1400 AH), vol. 1, pp. 47–48, h. 40.

[2] *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays* [al-Hilālī al-Kūfī], pp. 221 and 222. An abridged version of this narration is related in *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl*, vol. 5, p. 150, no. 428, from the Master of the Faithful.

[3] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, p. 435, h. 598.

[4] *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, pp. 65–66; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol. 1, p. 125, h. 97 says that Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd relates this hadith and similarly the hadith:

أنت منّي بمنزلة هارون من موسى إلّا أنّه لا نبي بعدي.

You are to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me. He then quotes Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd as saying:

وأبان نفسه عنه بالنبوّة؛ وأثبتَ له ما عداها ومن جميع الفضائل والخصائص مشتركاً بينهما.

He distinguished himself from him through the prophethood but confirmed that they shared all other merits and distinctions.

[5] *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, p. 66.

[6] This part of the narration is related in *Dalāʾil al-Ṣidq*, vol. 2, p. 233.

[7] *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays*, pp. 199–200. He also says: "Qays Ibn Saᶜd, in the course of the argument with Muᶜāwiyah [ibid., p. 221], says: 'Pertaining to the Tabūk expedition, God's Messenger said to Ali: "You are to me as Aaron to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."'"

[8] The book *al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥabah* says:

> Abū Rāfiᶜ Qibṭī was God's Messenger's servant. He had various names. Ibn ᶜAbd al-Birr says:
>
> > The majority opinion is that his name was Aslam. [Abū Rāfiᶜ] was originally ᶜAbbās Ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib's slave, but [ᶜAbbās] gave him to the Prophet. When Abū Rāfiᶜ told [the Prophet] the good news about ᶜAbbās's having become a Muslim, [the Prophet] freed him. Abū Rāfiᶜ embraced Islam before the Battle of Badr, but did not take part in [the battle]. He did, however, take part in the Battle of Uḥud and subsequent [battles]. He related from the Prophet, and ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Masᶜūd (vol. 4, p. 68).

[9] *Tharīd* is a sauce into which bread is dipped and then eaten. The Persian word is *tirīd*, but this is a corruption of *tharīd*, which is correct.

[10] This narration, up to here, appears in *Tārīkh Dimashq* (*The History of Damascus*), vol. on the Master of the Faithful, vol. 1, p. 89, no. 141.

[11] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, pp. 13–36, hadith 38; *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān* (Sidon) vol. 4, p. 206; Majlisī narrates this in *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 1, p. 241, quoting from Karājikī, *Kanz al-Fawāʾid*, from Abū Rāfiᶜ. He adds this sentence at the end: "He then said to Abū Ṭālib: 'It will surely humiliate you today, entering the religion of your nephew, his having promoted your son above you.'"

[12] RD: about three kilos.

[13] These are all allusions to poverty, to not having any money, or to being comfortable and not being respected. One edition says *armaṣuhum ᶜaynan*, meaning "out of all of them, I had the most white secretion from the eyes." SR: If this is an affliction associated with childhood or youth, then it emphasizes how young he was at the time. Alternatively it could be because poverty prevented him from buying a remedy.

[14] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, pp. 371–72, hadith 514, amongst the narrations about the revelation of the verse

وَاجْعَل لِّي وَزِيرًا مِّنْ أَهْلِي هَارُونَ أَخِي اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي

And Ibn ᶜAsākir cites this narration in *Tārīkh Dimashq* (*The History of Damascus*), book on the Master of the Faithful, vol. 1, p. 88, no. 140. The same narration appears in *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl* (Hyderabad: 2nd ed.), section on Ali's virtues, vol. 15, pp. 115–17, no. 334. He says at the end:

> Related by Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, Ibn Abī Hātim, Ibn Mardawayh, Abū Nuᶜaym, and Bayhaqī in *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwah*; Muẓaffar, *Dalāʾil al-Ṣidq*, vol. 2, p. 233; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* (Ṭabᶜ al-Istiqāmah), vol. 2, pp. 62–63; Ibn Abī al-Hādid, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Beirut: off-set), vol. 3, pp. 254–55; ibid. (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyyah), vol. 13, pp. 210–11; an abridged version appears in *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl*, vol. 15, p. 100, no. 286.

[15] SR: The ellipsis represents the words

الى ان قال

"until he said," i.e. the narrator skips to the relevant section.

[16] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, pp. 420–21, hadith 580, amongst the other narrations there are about the background to the revelation of the verse

وانذر عشيرتك الاقربين

And warn your nearest relations (26:214).

[17] *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān* (Sidon), vol. 4, p. 206; this narration appears with an unbroken chain of transmission in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, p. 320, hadith 3 from Thaᶜlabī, in his exegesis, at the end of the commentary on the noble verse. However, we could not find this narration in *Tafsīr al-Thaᶜlabī*. The author of *Ghāyat al-Marām* might have quoted it from *Tafsīr al-Thaᶜlabī*, but made an orthographical or copyist's error. The author of the commentary on *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl* has made the same mistake in vol. 1, p. 420, misquoting Thaᶜlabī, just as *Ghāyat al-Marām* does. Majlisī also relates this narration in *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 294, from the book *al-ᶜUmdah*, from *Tafsīr al-Thaᶜlabī*.

[18] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, the vol. about the Master of the Faithful, part 1, pp. 83–84.

[19] Ibid., pp. 84–85.

[20] Ibid., pp. 84–85.

[21] Majlisī says in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 293, at the end of the narration that comes from *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā* in which the words "repayer of my debt" (*qāḍī daynī*) appear: "Muḥaqqiq Ṭūsī, the helper of the sect and religion, ᶜAllāmah Ḥillī, and a number of our scholars read it as 'the completer of my religion' (*qāḍī dīnī*), but Sayyid Murtaḍā criticizes this." Majlisī then says: "There is no need for such affectation because both wordings are indubitably and explicitly narrated."

[22] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, The Book on the Master of the Faithful, vol. 1, pp. 85–86. ᶜAllāmah Majlisī relates this narration with the words

ونجز مواعيدي

"...and keep my covenants" in *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 295, from *al-ᶜUmdah* and *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl* (Hyderabad), vol. 15, p. 131.

[23] Ibid., pp. 86–87. Obviously, the end of this narration, where ᶜAbbās remains silent, is fabricated, and does not fit God's Messenger's invitation at the beginning of his mission; the fabricator wanted to confuse the debt of the message with personal debt.

[24] Ibid., pp. 87–88.

[25] Ibid., pp. 88–89.

[26] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, volume on the Master of the Faithful, part 1, pp. 89–90.

[27] *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, p. 111; *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl* (Hyderabad, 2nd edition), vol. 15, the virtues of Ali, p. 113, no. 323; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 295, quoting from *al-ᶜUmdah*; Muẓaffar, *Dalāʾil al-Ṣidq*, vol. 2, p. 233; ᶜAllāmah Ḥillī, *Minhāj al-Karāmah*. We should note that [Hindī], who relates this narration in *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl* (Hyderabad, 2nd edition), vol. 15, p. 113, no. 323, from *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, and also from Ibn Jarīr, says: "Ibn Jarīr relates it from Taḥāwī and Ḍiyāʾ, *al-Mukhtārah*, and considers it to be authentic. Mullā Ali Muttaqī says at the beginning of *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl*, quoting from the preface of Suyūṭī, *Jamᶜ al-Jawāmiᶜ*, that all Ḍiyāʾ's narrations in *al-Mukhtārah* are authentic.

[28] SR: Sharīk is one of the narrators, as per the full chain of narration.

[29] RD: During my adolescence, I overcame the Arabs and I knocked them to the ground; I smashed down the most well-known chiefs and bravest men from the Tribes of Rabīᶜah and Muḍar!

[30] A *jadhaᶜah* is a six-month-old lamb. A *firq* is a large volume used by the people in Medina to measure their yoghurt.

[31] SR: Approximately 750 g.

[32] The drink weighed less than a kilo.

[33] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Beirut: off-set), vol. 3, pp. 254–55; ibid. (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyyah), vol. 13, pp. 210–12; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* (Cairo: Istiqāmah, n.d.), vol. 2, pp. 63–64; *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl*, vol. 15, pp. 154–55, no. 435 saying: "cited by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and Tabarī, and by Ḍiyāʾ in *al-Mukhtārah*.

[34] *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl* (Hyderabad: Deccan), vol. 15, p. 130, hadith 380; *Dalāʾil al-Ṣidq*, vol. 2, p. 234, quoting from Ibn Mardawayh, *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl*.

[35] Abū Jaᶜfar Iskāfī, Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Abū Jaᶜfar, known as Iskāfī. Khaṭīb Baghdādī refers to him in *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 5, p. 416, and says: "A Baghdadi Muᶜtazilite theologian; he authored famous books, and I have been informed that he died in 240 AH." Iskāfī wrote his book known as *Naqḍ al-Othmaniyyah* as a refutation of Jāḥiẓ, *al-Othmaniyyah*. Most of what Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd quotes from him in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* is from his book.

[36] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Beirut, off-set), vol. 3, p. 267; Ibid. (Cairo: Dar Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-Arabiyyah, 1378 AH), vol. 14, pp. 244–45; Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Muẓaffar cites an abridged version in *Dalaʾil al-Ṣidq*, vol. 2, p. 233, which only includes what the Prophet and the Master of the Faithful said.

[37] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib* (lithograph), vol. 1, p. 544.

[38] *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 312.
[39] *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 19, p. 74.
[40] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 3, p. 40.
[41] *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī*, vol. 3, p. 351.
[42] *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (first edition), p. 104 includes:

فأيكم يوازرني هذا الأمر وأن يكون أخي ووصيي وخليفتي فيكم

"So which of you will help me with this affair and be my brother, executor, and successor among you?" but omits the Prophet's response to the Master of the Faithful's undertaking:

فأنت أخي ووصيي ووارثي وخليفتي فيكم.

"So you are my brother, executor, and executor among you." However, the second edition comprehensively omits the plea, acceptance, and response, and instead says:

لكنّ عليا نهض وما يزال صبيا دون الحلم وقال: أنا يا رسول الله عونك؛ أنا حرب على من حاربت

فابتسم بنو هاشم وقهقه بعضهم وجعل نظرهم ينتقل من أبي طالب إلى ابنه.

"However, Ali stood up even though he was still a boy who had not yet attained majority, and said: 'I am your assistance, God's Messenger. I am at war against whomever you are at war with.' Thereafter, the sons of Hāshim smiled, some of them laughed out loud, and their gaze began shifting from Abū Ṭālib to his son."
[43] People tend to adopt the same religion as their rulers and kings do and follow whims as opposed to sound thought.
[44] *Tārikh Dimashq*, Book on the Master of the Faithful, vol. 3, pp. 98–99, no. 1139, Ibn ʿAsākir relates this narration via his chain from Muhammad Ibn Saʿīd Iṣfahānī; Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā Balādhurī, *Amīr al-Muʾminīn wa Ghurar Manāqibihi* (Beirut: Aʿlamī, n.d.), p. 184, hadith 220 from Madāʾinī, from Sharīk with the same chain.
[45] This narration is related by Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr in *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3, p. 1118, from Ibn Wahb, from Ḥafṣ Ibn Maysarah, from ʿĀmir Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn Zubayr: "When he heard his son speak ill of the Master of the Faithful, he said to him: 'Beware saying that again.'"
[46] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Beirut, off-set), vol. 3, pp. 258–60; ibid. (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah, 1378 AH), vol. 13, pp. 219–224.
[47] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, p. 368, hadith 510.

[48] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, pp. 369–70, hadith 511; *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 295, from Ibn Biṭrīq, *ʿUmdah*, from ʿAbdullah Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, from his father, from ʿAbdullah Ibn ʿĀmir, from ʿUbādah Ibn Yaʿqūb, from Ali Ibn ʿĀbis, from Ḥarth Ibn Ḥaṣīrah, from Qāsim, [who] said: "I heard a man from Khathʿam say: 'I heard Asmāʾ Bint ʿUmays.'"

Dalāʾil al-Ṣidq, vol. 2, p. 223: "Suyūṭī says in his exegesis *al-Durr al-Manthūr*: 'Ibn Mardawayh, Khaṭīb, and Ibn ʿAsākir quote Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays as saying: "I saw God's Messenger [standing] opposite Mount Thabīr and saying: 'The sun has risen over Thabīr; the sun has risen over Thabīr; O God! Surely I ask of You what my brother Moses asked of You: to broaden my chest, ease for me my affair, and loosen the knot from my tongue, [so that people] understand what I say.

And appoint for me an aide from my family, Ali, my brother. Strengthen my back through him and make him share my task, that we may glorify You much and remember You oft. Surely You are ever Seeing us!'"'"

Similarly, Suyūṭī says: "Salafī, in *al-Ṭuyurāt*, cites via a chain narrating from Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Ali, that:

> When
>
> وَاجعَل لِّي وَزِيرًا مِّن أَهلِي هَارُونَ أَخِي اشْدُد بِهِ أَزْرِي
>
> *And appoint for me an aide from my family, Aaron, my brother. Strengthen my back through him* was revealed, God's Messenger was on a mountain. He then prayed, saying: "O God, strengthen my back through my brother Ali" (and God answered his prayer).

ʿAllāmah relates something similar in *Minhāj al-Karāmah* from *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, as does the author of *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah*, chapter 17, also from *Musnad Aḥmad*; Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā*, chapter 56, quoting Aḥmad, *Faḍāʾil*; Sibṭ Ibn Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, also quoting Aḥmad, *Faḍāʾil*.

[49] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, p. 373, hadith 515.

[50] SR: A *rakʿah* consists of recitation of the Qurʾan while standing, bowing, straightening up, prostrating, sitting up, and prostrating again. The worshiper sits up briefly after prostrating and then stands up except for after the second *rakʿah* (which would be the final *rakʿah* of a two-*rakʿah* prayer), and also the final *rakʿah* (of a three- or four-*rakʿah* prayer), where the worshiper makes the declaration of faith before standing again. In the final *rakʿah* a greeting follows the declaration of faith, completing the prayer.

[51] The hadith, up to this sentence, appears in Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib* (lithograph), vol. 1, p. 549, quoting Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī, *Manqabat al-Muṭahharīn*, and Iṣfahānī, *Fīmā Nazala min al-Qurʾān fī Amīr al-Muʾminīn*; Naṭanzī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿAlawiyyah* quoting Shuʿbah Ibn Ḥakam; *Dalāʾil al-Ṣidq*, vol. 2, p. 223, relating from ʿAllāmah Ḥillī; *Minhāj al-Karāmah*, from Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

[52] Ibn Maghāzilī, *al-Manāqib*, pp. 328–29; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 2, p. 373, hadith 13, from Ibn Maghāzilī; *Tafsīr Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm Kūfī*, p. 89 via the same chain.

[53] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb* (lithograph), vol. 1, pp. 523–24. Ibn Makkī's couplets are cited in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 392; ʿAllāmah Amīnī also includes a biographical entry on him. However, *al-Ghadīr* says that the second couplet is

والقوم...حضرا

meaning "his people who had come together," instead of

والقوم...حسرا

meaning "his people restrained."

[54] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, pp. 524–25; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, pp. 127, 131 where he includes a detailed biographical note on ʿAwnī. ʿAwnī was one of the greatest poets and a leading composer of poetry about the Household. He lived in the sixth century, and annihilated himself in love for the Household. He composed an ode comprising fifty-one sections, each of which consists of five-lines about the Master of the Faithful's virtues and his enemies' shortcomings. It is so sublime that we can scarcely find an equal to it in fluency and elegance. Out of its five sections we only cite [in the main text] the five hemistiches relevant to the Master of the Faithful's appointment as aide, and we quote them from Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*. As his name was Ṭalḥah Ibn ʿUbaydillāh Ibn Abī ʿAwn Ghassānī, he concludes his final couplets by addressing himself as Ṭalḥ, which is the apocopated vocative form:

يارب مالي عمل سوى الولا لاحمد وآله اهل العلا
صنو الرسول والوصي المبتلى وفاطم والحسنين في الملا
غرا تزين العرش والكرسيا
ثم علي وابنه محمد وجعفر وموسى المهتدي
ثم علي والجواد الاجود محمد ثم علي الامجد
والحسن الذي جلا المهديا
فاعطني بهم جمال الدنيا وراحة القبر زمان البقيا
والامر والستر بحشر الحيا والري من كوثر اهل السقيا
والحشر معهم في العلى سويا
يا طلح ان تختم بهذا في العمل لم يدن منك فزع ولا وجل
وانت طلح الخير ان جاء الأجل بالاجر من رب الورى عز وجل
كفى بربي راحمي كفيا.

O Lord, I have no deeds apart from love for Aḥmad and his family, the people of sublimity
Twin to the Messenger and the tested executor, and Fāṭim and Hasan and Husayn in the assembly
Pearl which adorns the throne and seat
Then Ali and his son Muhammad and Jaʿfar of honesty and Mūsā the rightly guided
Then Ali and the most generous one (al-Jawād al-Ajwad) Muhammad, then Ali the noblest
And Hasan who revealed the Mahdī
So give me the beauty of the world through them and comfort in the grave when it is time to stay
And security and covering at the assembly of the resurrection and quenching by the Kawthar of the people in charge of watering [people]
And assembly with them harmoniously in the height
O Ṭalḥ, if this is what you do last, neither terror nor fear will come near you
And you will be the Ṭalḥ of goodness when death brings the reward from the Mighty and Sublime Lord of mankind
My Lord most assuredly suffices me as a Merciful.

[55] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb* (lithograph), vol. 1, p. 525.

[56] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 525.
[57] *Qāmūs*, vol. 2, p. 55 says:

شُبَّر كبقّم، وشُبَيِّر كقُمَيِّر وَمُشَبِّر كمحدّث؛ أبناء هارون عليه السّلام، قيل: وبأسمائهم سمّى النبي صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم الحسن والحسين والمحسن.

"Shubbar [voweled internally] like *buqqam*, Shubbayr like *qummayr*, and Mushabbir like *muḥaddith* were Aaron's sons. It is said that the Prophet named Hasan, Husayn, and Muhassin after them."
[58] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 525; these two narrations also appear in *Biḥār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 38, p. 146, quoting from *Manāqib*; ibid. (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 294.
[59] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, pp. 549 and 550.
[60] *Biḥār al-Anwār* (modern edition), vol. 38, p. 146, cites the narration of Abū Ṣalt Anvāzī up to here; ibid. (Kompānī), vol. 9, pp. 294–95.
[61] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, pp. 549–50.
[62] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, pp. 549–50.
[63] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, pp. 549–50.
[64] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 550.
[65] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 550.
[66] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 397–98.
[67] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah* (Istanbul, 1st ed.), vol. 1, chapter 56, p. 251, *Mawaddah* 6, quoting from Sayyid Ali Hamedānī, *Mawaddat al-Qurbā*.
[68] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah*, vol. 1, p. 251, chapter 56, *Mawaddah* 6.
[69] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah*, vol. 1, section 56, p. 251, *Mawaddah* 7.
[70] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah*, vol. 1, p. 50, chapter 6; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, p. 109, hadith 1.
[71] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah*, vol. 1, p. 50, chapter 6; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 109, hadith 3, p. 110, hadith 11; Ibn al-Maghāzilī, *al-Manāqib*, pp. 29, 34, 35, and 36, hadiths 42, 51, 53, and 54, from Saᶜīd Ibn Musayyib, from Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.
[72] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah*, p. 50, chapter 6.
[73] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah* (Istanbul), vol. 1, chapter 6, pp. 50–51.
[74] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah* (Istanbul), vol. 1, chapter 6, pp. 50–51.
[75] *ᶜAwsaj* is the wood of a thistle-bearing tree.
[76] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah*, vol. 1, chapter 6, p. 51; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 238, from *Kashf al-Ghummah*, from Khārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, from Jābir Ibn ᶜAbdillāh.
[77] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah*, vol. 1, chapter 7, p. 55.

[78] *Yanābiʿ al-Mawaddah* (Istanbul), vol. 1, chapter 7, pp. 55–56; Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, *al-Istiʿāb*, vol. 3, pp. 1109–10 from Muʿammar, from Ibn Ṭāwūs, from his father, from Muṭṭalib Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn Ḥanṭab, [who] said:

> When the delegation from [the tribe of] Thaqīf came, God's Messenger told them: "You will most certainly submit! Otherwise, I will send a man of my own kind (*minnī*) [or he may have told them] who is like myself, and he will most certainly behead you, take your children as prisoners, and take away your property." Omar said: "By God, I never wished to be Master except that day. I began pushing out my chest towards him, hoping he would say: 'This is he!'" [Omar] said: "But he turned to Ali, took his hand, and then said: 'This is he. Ali is with the Qurʾan, and the Qurʾan is with Ali; they will not separate from each other until they come to me at the Pool.'"

[79] *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr* (Cairo: Mūṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī wa Awlāduh, 4th ed.), chapter ʿAyn, p. 66.

[80] *Kunūz al-Ḥaqāʾiq fī Ḥadīth Khayr al-Khalāʾiq*, published as footnotes to Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 6.

[81] *Nahj al-Balāghah* (Cairo: Abduh, n.d.), p. 393, Sermon 190: "The Sermon of Disparagement (*al-Qāṣiʿah*)," part 5. Before this Imam Ali says:

وَلَقَدْ سَمِعْتُ رَنَّةَ الشيطان حين نزل الوحي عليه صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم فقلتُ يا رسول الله ما هذِهِ الرَّنَّة؟ فقالَ: هَذا الشَّيطانُ آيِسٌ من عبادَتِهِ إنَّكَ تَسْمَعُ ما أسمع...

"I heard Satan's ringing when revelation came down to him, so I asked: 'God's Messenger! What is this ringing?' And he replied: 'This is Satan despairing of being served. Surely you hear whatever I hear...'"

[82] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Cairo: Dar Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah, 1378), vol. 13, p. 211.

[83] *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 241.

[84] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, p. 110, hadith 7; p. 122, hadith 83; *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 239; this hadith, as per the above wording, is cited in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, and in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, quoting from *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*. But apparently, his companion's question: "Did you hear anything from your father?" was added inadvertently; it refers to a narration by one of Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ's children, Ibrāhīm, ʿĀmir, Muṣʿab, or Ayishe, whereas in this hadith, the narrator

is Mūsā Juhnī himself, directly from Fāṭimah, daughter of Ali. Proof for our claim is a narration related by Majlisī in *Biḥār*, vol. 9, p. 239, from *al-ʿUmdah* by Ibn Biṭrīq, from Ibn Maghāzilī, and in which Mūsā Juhnī relates straight from Fāṭimah, daughter of Ali; *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3, pp. 1097–98, and, *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, p. 122, hadith 85. This hadith has been related via many routes, most of which are cited by Ibn ʿAsākir in *Tārīkh Dimashq*, Book on the Master of the Faithful, vol. 1, p. 354 onwards under number 440. It is also cited in *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq*, vol. 5, p. 180 onwards.

[85] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 110, hadith nine; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 239, quoting Ibn Biṭrīq, *ʿUmdah*. *Al-ʿUmdah*, *al-Mustadrak* and *al-Manāqib* are all about hadiths narrated by Sunnis on the Imamate as Majlisī says in the introduction to *Biḥār*. The author [of these three books] is Shaykh Abū al-Husayn Yaḥyā Ibn Hasan Ibn Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Biṭrīq Asadī. Baḥrānī cites it in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 110, as hadiths 15 and 18 from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 7.

[86] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 110, hadith 14; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 239, quoting from Ibn Biṭrīq, *al-ʿUmdah*; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 110, hadith 17 quoting from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 7.

[87] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 110, hadiths 12–13; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 239; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 110, hadith 16 from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 7; *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, pp. 240–41; after many narrations and discussions on the hadith from *Kāmil al-Tāwārīkh*, and *al-Ṭarāʾif*, and Qāḍī Tanūkhī, *al-Muṣannaf*; Majlisī says:

> Tanūkhī relates the prophetic hadith to Ali: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses..." from: Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the Master of the Faithful, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Masʿūd, ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās, Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh al-Anṣārī, Abū Hurayrah, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Jābir Ibn Samurah, Mālik Ibn Ḥuwayrith, Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, Zayd Ibn Arqam, Abū Rāfiʿ, God's Messenger's freedman, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Abī Awfā and his brother Zayd, Abū Sarīḥah, Ḥudhayfah Ibn Usayd, Anas Ibn Mālik, Abū Buraydah Aslamī, Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, ʿAqīl Ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ḥubaysh Ibn Junādah Salūlī, Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, the Prophet's wife Umm Salamah, Asmāʾ Bint ʿUmays, Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib, and Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, Ḥabīb Ibn Abī Thābit, Fāṭimah, daughter of Ali, and Sharḥābīl Ibn Saʿd, all of whom relate from the Prophet; Tanūkhī then quotes the narrations in full along with their chains of transmission and routes.

[88] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, p. 111, hadith 22; the same meaning is conveyed by *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 130, hadith 15, from Ṭūsī, *Amālī* via his unbroken chain from Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib, quoting Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.

استكا

is Form VIII with a *shaddah* over the *kāf*. It conjugates as follows: *istakka; yastakku istikākan*. It means to go deaf. Form III conjugates as follows: *sakka; yasukku sakkan*. [It means to enter (someone's) ears]; Ibn al-Maghāzilī, *al-Manāqib*, pp. 27–28, hadith 40, p. 33, hadith 50; Khārazmī, *al-Manāqib* (lithograph), p. 95, ibid. (Najaf), pp. 95–96; *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 4, pp. 26–27.

[89] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, p. 111, hadith 26; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 240; Ibn Biṭrīq, *al-ʿUmdah*; Ibn al-Maghāzilī, *al-Manāqib*, p. 29, hadith 43.

[90] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 111, hadith 31; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 240 quoting from Ibn Biṭrīq, *al-ʿUmdah*; Ibn Maghāzilī, *al-Manāqib*, pp. 31–32; the end of this hadith appears in *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah*, vol. 1, chapter 6, p. 50.

[91] *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, p. 125; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, p. 124, hadith 92 quoting from *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, quoting from *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 114, hadith 55 from Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad Khārazmī, *Faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn* via [Khārazmī's] unbroken chain from ʿAllāmah Fakhr Khārazm Maḥmūd Ibn Omar Zamakhsharī, quoting Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Madrak Rāzī, quoting Ismāʿīl Ibn Hasan Sammān, from Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Khuzāʿī Ghaṭṭāʾ, from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Saʿīd Anṣārī, from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ardān Khayyāṭ Shīrāzī, from Maʾmūn's executor Ibrāhīm Ibn Saʿīd Jawharī, from Hārūn al-Rashīd [sic], from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās, [who] said:

سمعتُ عُمَرَ بنَ خطّاب وعندهُ جماعة فتذاكروا السابقين الى الإسلام فقال عمر...

"I heard Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb when a group were with him and they were reminding each other of the earliest to embrace Islam, and Omar said: ..." Majlisī relates it in *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 240, quoting *al-Firdaws*.

[92] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 112, hadith 35; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 123, hadith 89, from Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ḥamwīnī, via his unbroken chain from Qays Ibn Abī Ḥāzim; Ibn Maghāzilī, *al-Manāqib*, pp. 34–35, hadith 52; *al-Ṭarāʾif* from Ibn Maghāzilī Shāfiʿī, and from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, elevatedly (*marfūʿan*) [i.e. ascribed to the Prophet], in the same words from Ismāʿīl Ibn Abī Khālid, from Qays, from Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 240, from Ibn Biṭrīq, *al-ʿUmdah; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, vol. 15, p. 131, from Ibrāhīm Ibn Saʿīd al-Jawharī, who said: "Maʾmūn related from his father, Hārūn al-Rashīd [sic], from Mahdī ʿAbbāsī, who said: 'Once, Sufyān Thawrī came to see me, and I said to him: "Tell me the best merit of the Master of the Faithful, Ali [Ibn Abī Ṭālib], that you know (*ʿindak*)!" Sufyān said: "Salamah Ibn Kuhayl related to me from Ḥujayyah from Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib that God's Messenger said: 'You are to me as Aaron was to Moses.'"'" (Ibn al-Najjār).

[94] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 131, hadith 25; *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 237, chapter on the Status Hadiths and reliance on them as evidence of [Ali's] Imamate. There are eight narrations from Shaykh Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, on this subject: from Mufīd, via his chain from ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās, from God's Messenger; from Abū ʿAmr, from Ibn ʿUqdah, via his chain from Ḥubshī Ibn Junādah Salūlī, from God's Messenger, and via the same chain from Jābir Ibn Samurah, from God's Messenger; from Abū ʿAmr, from Ibn ʿUqdah, via his chain from Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, from God's Messenger; from Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Abī al-Fāris, via his chain from ʿĀmir Ibn Saʿd, from his father, from God's Messenger; from Ibn Ṣalt, from Ibn ʿUqdah, via his chain from Imam Riḍā, from his forefathers, from God's Messenger; from Mufīd, via his chain from Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib, from Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ from God's Messenger, and from Mujāshiʿī, from Imam Ṣādiq, from his father, from his grandfather Ali Ibn al-Husayn, from Abū Salamah's sons—and God's Messenger's stepsons—Omar and Salamah, from God's Messenger.

[95]

تُرّهات

is the plural of

تُرّهة

meaning "nonsense."

[96] A boy from Thaqīf means a young man from the tribe of Thaqīf, who was called Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf Thaqafī. Māmqānī says in *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, vol. 1, p. 255:

> Ḥajjāj was a stubborn, wretched, tyrannical bloodshedder [and] the staunchest enemy of the infallible Household. He governed Iraq for twenty years; and the number of people killed by his cruel hand was 120,000 people. When he died, there were fifty thousand men and thirty thousand women in prison. He died at the age of fifty-three, on the twelfth of the Month of Ramaḍān, 95 AH.

Ibn Khallikān has a detailed biographical entry on him in *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* (Beirut: Dār al-Thiqāfah), vol. 2, pp. 29–54, no. 149. On p. 53, he refers to the cause of Hajjāj's death and says: "He died of an ulcer" (*al-ākilah*: a disease in which the flesh and the parts of the body are eaten away). Ibn Khallikān says:

> Ḥajjāj developed a stomach ulcer, and he called a doctor to cure him. The doctor asked for a piece of meat, and he tied it to the end of a thread. Then he passed it through his esophagus, left it for a while, and then took it. Several worms had attached to it! God afflicted him with bitter, punitive cold. Hearths full of fire would be set close around him and his skin would burn but he could not even feel it...

[97] Author's comment: This is the very affliction foretold by the Master of the Faithful, because he did say that he would die an obscene death in which his anus [would] burn up from the volume of what flows from his gut! Ibn Khallikān says: "May God have mercy on him and forgive him," but I say: "May God curse him, punish him, and resurrect him with his masters ʿAbd al-Malik and whoever follows in his footsteps." May God show us his place in Hell and may God heal our hearts [by letting us] see him punished, and exemplarily so. Ḥajjāj stayed this way for fifteen days, and he complained about what he had to Hasan Baṣrī, but he told him: "I told you not to take on the pious." So Ḥajjāj replied to him: "I am not asking you to ask God to deliver me, but I am asking you to ask Him to hasten in taking my soul and not to prolong my punishment." When news of Ḥajjāj's death reached Hasan Baṣrī, he prostrated before God out of gratitude and said: "O God, You have killed him, so now kill his tradition for us!"

[98] Meaning with no notable difference. One says *ḥadhw al-naʿl bi al-naʿl* ("measuring the sandal by the other sandal") or *ṭābaq al-naʿl bi al-naʿl* ("he matched the sandal with the other sandal"), because half of a pair is more like its other half than anything else. In making this comparison, the Imam meant that his action was most like God's Messenger's action. In fact it was exactly like God's Messenger's.

[99] Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib Ṭabarī, *al-Iḥtijāj* (Najaf: Maṭbaʿat Nuʿmān, n.d.), vol. 1, pp. 246–48; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, pp. 150–51, hadith 64, quoting *al-Iḥtijāj*.

[100] *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirah, 1378 AH), vol. 8, pp. 215–17; *Muntakhab Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, vol. 6, pp. 315–31.

[101] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 154.

[102] *Tārikh al-Yaʿqūbi* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1379 AH), vol. 2, p. 183.

[103] *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirah, 1378 AH), vol. 6, p. 83.

[104] Imam Hasan ʿAskarī was not the only Imam referred to as ʿAskarī. Another, namely his father Imam Ali Ibn Muhammad Hadi, who was also exiled to Sāmarrāʾ, was also called ʿAskarī. Hence, in this tradition, we see him referred to as ʿAskarī. Similarly, Imam Muhammad Taqī Jawād al-Aʾimmah was not the only Imam to be referred to as Riḍā's scion (Ibn al-Riḍā); so were Imam Ali al-Naqī and Imam Hasan ʿAskarī.

[105] SR: In an evidential context such as this one, U.S. readers say "stipulate," whereas U.K. readers say "concede." "Concede" is universally understood, and the word "stipulate" would cause considerable confusion for U.K. readers who use the word "stipulate" in an entirely different way—i.e. to set something as a condition.

[106] Shaykh Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj* (Najaf), vol. 2, pp. 250–53; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, p. 152, hadith 70, quoting from *al-Iḥtijāj*.

[107] Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj* (Najaf: Maṭbaʿat Nuʿmān, n.d.), vol. 1, pp. 157–58; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, pp. 146–48, hadith 62; at the end, blessed Baḥrānī says:

> I quote this hadith in *al-Burhān* from Ibn Bābawayh's tradition, with a chain of transmission, by way of commentary on the Exalted's words:
>
> يا أيها الذين آمنوا إذا ناجيتم الرسول فقدموا بين يدي نجواكم صدقة
>
> *O you who believe! when you consult the Messenger, then offer something in charity before your consultation...* (58:12)

[108] Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj* (Najaf), vol. 1, pp. 188–210; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 148–50, hadith 63, quoting from *al-Iḥtijāj*.
[109] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 125, hadith 98.
[110] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 73.
[111] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-Arabiyyah, 1378 AH), vol. 6, pp. 169–70; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 125, hadith 98.
[112] What Prophet Solomon said to Bilqīs and her hosts, meaning: "We do not need your gifts; but you do have to submit; otherwise I will send you an army to destroy your land and humiliate all of you!"
[113] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's version says a master, a brave horse (*aḥmar mukhishshan*); however, *Ghāyat al-Marām's* version is *jamran muḥtan*, literally a hot coal but meaning collective or unit, or a thousand horsemen. SR: There is clever wordplay here because of the dual meaning of *jamr* in the sense of either coal or an army unlawfully detained by the leader on the front and prevented from returning to their families. (See Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1863), vol. 8, p. 452).
[114] SR: Because when Muʿāwiyah publicly recognized him as his biological brother he "became" an Arab and a member of Banī ʿAbd Manāf (Muhammad Baqīr al-Mahmūdī, *Nahj al-Saʿādah fī Mustadrak Nahj al-Balāghah* (Najaf: Nuʿmān, n.d.), vol. 5, p. 354).
[115] *Sharh Nahj al-Balāghah* (Cairo: Dār Ihyā' al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah, 1378 AH), vol. 16, pp. 181–82; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, pp. 125–26, hadith 100; *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 2, pp. 525–26.
[116] *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 228 says:

> Abū al-Khayr Ibn ʿAmr Kindī had given Ziyād's mother Sumayyah to Ḥārith Ibn Kaldah, the doctor who treated him. She bore him Nāfiʿ on the basis of the paternity maxim (*ʿalā firāshihi*). Thereafter, she gave birth to Abū Bakrah, but because Abū Bakrah's complexion did not resemble his own, he disavowed paternity. He was also told: "Your handmaiden is a whore." That is why Ḥarth Ibn Kaldah disavowed paternity of Abū Bakrah and Nāfiʿ and married Sumayyah to his daughter's servant ʿUbayd. Thereafter, she gave birth to Ziyād as an issue of the marriage (*ʿalā firāshihi*). At the Battle of Ṭā'if God's Messenger's herald called out: "Any servant who comes down is free, and his allegiance is to God and His Messenger." Thereafter, Abū Bakrah came down and became a Muslim, and joined the Prophet. [As Ḥarth Ibn Kaldah's disavowment of paternity of Abū Bakrah, and belief that he was his slave's son had caused him to embrace Islam and be freed, Ḥarth] said to Nāfiʿ [Abū

Bakrah's brother]: "You are my son, so do not do as Abū Bakrah has done!" That is why Nāfiᶜ is recognized as (*laḥiqa bi*) Ḥarth Ibn Kaldah's son Thus, every one of Sumayyah's three sons had a different father: Ziyād was Abū Sufyān's, Nāfiᶜ was Ḥarth Ibn Kaldah's, and Nufayᶜ, i.e. Abū Bakrah, was ᶜUbayd's. Nufayᶜ came down from the citadel by means of a rope attached to a pulley (*bakrah*), so he was called Abū Bakrah.

[117] Ibn Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, vol. 3, p. 443, concerning the events of the year 44 AH; *al-Istīᶜāb*, vol. 2, pp. 523–30; *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 1, p. 563; *Fawāt Wafayāt al-Aᶜyān*, vol. 2, pp. 31–33.

[118] *al-Istīᶜāb*, vol. 2, p. 525.

[119] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Dār al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜArabiyyah), vol. 16, p. 181.

[120] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyya), other vol. 2, p. 1080, Chapter on "The Child Is of the Bed" and guarding against suspicions; he also relates another narration from Ayishe and two from Abū Hurayrah that God's Messenger said: "The child is of the bed and for the fornicator there is [just] stone."

[121] The Prophet only instructed ᶜAbd Ibn Zamᶜah's sister Sawdah to wear hijab around [ᶜAbd] as a precaution, not as an incontrovertible religious ruling, because as per the hadith, ᶜAbd Ibn Zamᶜah strongly resembled ᶜUtbah Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. As established in the study of legal presumptions, both reason and the religious law say that precaution is good.

[122] *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 10, p. 127; Ḥājj Mīrzā Hasan Bujnūrdī, *al-Qawāᶜid al-Fiqhiyyah*, vol. 4, p. 21. Our three Shaykhs relate in the four books from Hasan Ibn Ṣayqal concerning Imam Ṣādiq:

سمعته وسأل عن رجل اشترى جارية ثم وقع عليها قبل أن يستبرء رحمها قال عليه السلام بئس ما صنع يستغفر الله ولا يعد؛ قلت: فإن باعها من آخر ولم يستبرء رحمها ثم باعها الثاني من رجل آخر فوقع عليها ولم يستبرء رحمها فاستبان حملها عند الثالث: فقال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر

I heard him being asked about a man who had bought a handmaiden, and then had intercourse with her before ensuring that she was not already pregnant (*qabla an yastabrī' rahimahā*). He replied: "What an evil thing he did. He should seek God's forgiveness and not do it again." I

asked: "What if he sells her to another and [that other] does not ensure that she is not already pregnant? Then the second [man] sells her to another man and he does not ensure that she is not already pregnant and it only becomes apparent to the third man that she is pregnant." So Abū ʿAbdillāh said: "The child is of the bed and for the fornicator there is [just] stone."

[123] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 16, p. 194.

[124] Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Najafī, *Jawāhir al-Kalām* (Najaf: al-Maktabat al-Islāmiyyah, known as Ākhūndī, n.d.), vol. 29, pp. 256–57, says:

In any event, both forms of consensus are that a [legitimate] familial relationship is not established. In fact it could be claimed to be axiomatic never mind [just] well known from the prooftexts or the indubitability through the large number of narrators within them. So if someone has adulterous relations [with a married woman] and a child is formed from his seed, [that child] is definitely not lawfully related to him in the sense of legal benefits applying. The same is true of the mother.

[125] Sayyid Raḍī explains these two analogies as follows:

الواغِل هُو الّذی یهجُمُ علی الشرب لیشرب معهم ولیس منهم. فلا یزال مُدَفَّعاً مُحاجَزاً. والنَّوط المُذَبْذَب هو ما یناط برحْلِ الراکب من قَعب أو قَدَح أو ما أشبه ذلك فهو أبداً یتقلقل إذا حثّ ظَهرَه واستَعجَلَ سَیرَه

A *wāghil* is someone who trespasses upon a drink, to drink with a [group of people] even though he is not one of them. He will always be wretched and turned away. *Al-nawṭ al-mudhabdhab* is a drinking bowl, cup, or similar object hung from the rider's saddle. It will be perpetually shaken about when [the rider] spurs on [the mount's] back to quicken its pace.

[126] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letters, Letter 44.

[127] Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, *Jamharat Rasā'il al-ʿArab*, vol. 2, pp. 29–30, on the authority of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd.

[128] SR: To refer to someone as the son of his mother, e.g. son of Sumayyah or son of Hind, is an innuendo, implying that he is illegitimate, and does not know who his father is.

[129] *Jamharat Rasā'il al-ᶜArab*, vol. 2, pp. 30–31, quoting from Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd.
[130] That is Othman, because Othman was the son of ᶜAffān Ibn Abī al-ᶜĀṣ, the son of Umayyah.
[131] *Jamharat Rasā'il al-ᶜArab*, vol. 2, pp. 32–33, quoting from Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*.
[132] *Al-ᶜIqd al-Farīd* (1331 AH), vol. 3, p. 23, says:

> Ziyād was a friend of Mughīrah's because Ziyād had been one of the four witnesses who, during Omar's term, came to Medina to testify against Mughīrah Ibn Shuᶜbah for his having committed adultery. One of the others was Abū Bakrah, Ziyād's brother. The other three witnesses testified, but Ziyād stuttered in his testimony and did not testify, even though it had been decided that he would. Hence, Mughīrah escaped punishment. Omar detained the other three and punished them for defamation. That is why relations broke down between Abū Bakrah and Ziyād. On the other hand, Mughīrah became friends with Ziyād. When, by the command of Muᶜāwiyah, Mughīrah went to Persia, Ziyād told Mughīrah: "Show me the right way and do your best because faith is put in an adviser!" [Mughīrah] said: "I think you should link your rope to his, go to him, and turn a deaf ear and blind eye to the people!"! Ziyād followed Mughīrah's advice, and went to Muᶜāwiyah. (*Jamharat Rasā'il al-ᶜArab*, vol. 2, p. 33, footnote).

[133] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, says:

لقد قمت يوم قرأت كتابك مقاماً يعيابه الخطيب الذرة

"On the day I read your letter, I stood where the preacher prepares (*yaᶜba'*) the tip of his tongue," but *Jamharat Rasā'il al-ᶜArab* says

يعيابه

meaning "where [the preacher's tongue] is unable."
[134] Everything referred to above concerning what transpired between Muᶜāwiyah and Ziyād after the Master of the Faithful's letter, as included in *Nahj al-Balāghah*, is recorded in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Cairo: Dar Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyyah, 1378 AH), vol. 16, pp. 182–86. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd relates from Abū Jaᶜfar Muhammad Ibn Ḥabīb. The last letter is also in *Jamharat Rasā'il al-ᶜArab*, vol. 2, p. 33–35.
[135] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 16, p. 187.
[136] *al-ᶜIqd al-Farīd* (1st ed., 1331 AH), vol. 3, p. 126.

[137] Because she would be allowing herself to be seen by a man not closely related to her (*ajnabī*) by blood, marriage, or wetnursing, thus dishonoring the Prophet. The verse of the veil:

وَإِذَا سَأَلْتُمُوهُنَّ مَتَاعًا فَسْئَلُوهُنَّ مِن وَرَاءِ حِجَابٍ

And when ye ask of them anything, ask it of them from behind a curtain (33:53) and the verse:

وَقَرْنَ فِي بُيُوتِكُنَّ

And stay in your houses (33:33) were revealed about her, and the other wives of the Prophet.

[138] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyyah, 1378 AH), vol. 16, pp. 188–89.

[139] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 16, p. 189; *al-Istiᶜāb*, vol. 2, p. 526.

[140] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, 16, pp. 189–90; *al-Istiᶜāb*, vol. 2, p. 527.

[141] The late Ayatollah, Ḥājj Mīrzā Hasan Bujnūrdī, may God be pleased with him, has fully explained the rule of "The child is of the bed and for the fornicator there is [just] stone" (*al-walad li al-firāsh wa li al-ᶜāhir al-ḥajar*) in *al-Qawāᶜid al-Fiqhiyyah*, vol. 4, pp. 21–44.

[142] Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Najafī, *Jawāhir al-Kalām*, vol. 29, pp. 256–57, the book on marriage, chapter on the non-establishment of a parental-filial relationship through extramarital relations. The set is one of the best Shiᶜa works on jurisprudence.

[143] Ṭurayḥī, *Majmaᶜ al-Baḥrayn*, art. *l-gh-ā*.

[144] *Wasā'il al-Shiᶜah*, the book on marriage, chapter 101, of the chapters on laws pertaining to children, h. 1.

[145] In *Jawāhir al-Kalām*, after a comprehensive discussion on no legal familial relationship being established between a fornicator and the issue of the fornication, [Najafī] says:

> In any case, there should be no doubt that the seven consanguineous categories to whom marriage is illegal are defined lexically, but this does not predicate any of the other rulings of consanguinity not specifically covered by the particular evidence because everything else is negatively predicated, meaning the other rules do not apply. This is because what is negatively predicated legally is like what is negatively predicated rationally, as alluded to by the negative predication arising from a sworn allegation of adultery. Therefore, ᶜAllāmah's objection in *al-Qawāᶜid*, concerning manumission if an illegitimate child owns his [putative/biological] father, or his [putative/biological] father owns him, or testify

ing against his putative father, slaying his slayer in retaliation (*qawad*), not being allowed to marry his ex-wife, and the other family law rulings, is incorrect. The same applies to what *Kashf al-Lithām* says about inheritance, a biological mother's not being allowed to marry her "daughter's" ex-husband, and marriage to two biological sisters, both of whom are or one of whom is illegitimate, and a biological father's imprisonment for his illegitimate son's debt... It is best to exercise precaution with whatever pertains to potential loss of life and to marriage. As for manumission, it is not mandatory if there is doubt over the [paternal / filial] relationship. In fact it is likely that there is [no such relationship legally]. And testimony is presumed to be admissible [even by an illegitimate son against his putative father].

[Najafī] then says:

I have said that there should not be any doubt that what is correct is that none of the other laws arising from a legitimate familial relationship should apply to anything else but marriage. In fact the usual laws that apply to in-laws do not apply, never mind any other laws. Indeed, there may even be doubt as to whether it is permissible to look at one of the aforementioned family members [unveiled], to whom marriage is not permissible.

However, to be fair, the permissibility is not unlikely because of the likely concomity between the two laws here, especially because the reason for them both is likely the same. Thus on the basis of the above, it is clear to you that there is no justification for what *al-Masālik* says about the uncertainty about such matters, as is obvious. (*Jawāhir al-Kalām*, vol. 29, pp. 258–59)

[146] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 16, p. 193.

[147] SR: More of a bad dream or a nightmare! Whichever English word is used here is problematic. The truth of the matter is that it was obviously a prophetic dream in which the Prophet had a vision of the future. The linguistic problem is that the words "dream" and "vision" can both sometimes imply a future goal or aspiration, which is the opposite of what it was. "Bad dream" or "nightmare" does unfortunately imply silliness, which is somewhat inappropriate given the Divine nature of the inspiration. The only reason for saying so at the beginning of this note was to clarify that this was obviously not what he wanted for the future and that this future was a result of the nation's disobedience.

[148] In *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 16, pp. 194–95, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd quotes Ziyād's insolent letter to His Holiness Imam Hasan, His Holiness's reply to that letter, and then Muʿāwiyah's letter to Ziyād.

[149] In *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* (Cairo: al-Jamāliyyah, 1331 AH), vol. 3, pp. 120–23, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih al-Andalusī tells the story of ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās's rebellion against the Master of the Faithful, and the letters that streamed between them, and [ʿAbdullāh's] eventual escape from Basra to the Hijaz.

[150] *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, pp. 124–25.

[151] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 126, Sunni hadith 100.

[152] SR: i.e. in the sense of looking after, cherishing, valuing, and following. I have erred on the side of caution in the main text and followed Lane's interpretation taken in turn from a marginal note in a copy of *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr*. See Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1863), vol. 1, p. 83.

[153] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 144–45, Sunni hadith 58.

[154] *Nakazahā* means he beat her, pushed her, and made her recoil.

[155] *Naʿl al-sayf* means the iron or silver thing [or shoe] at the lower end of the scabbard.

[156] *Dalāʾil al-Imāmah* (Najaf: n.p., n.d.), p. 45 by Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ibn Rostam Ṭabarī, who is one of the greatest scholars of the fourth century; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 10, p. 49, quoting from *Dalāʾil al-Imāmah*.

[157] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 8, p. 231; Majlisī relates this within a lengthy narration, from one of the scholars in Mecca, from *Dalāʾil al-Imāmah*, vol. 2.

[158] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 13, p. 205, saying:

وخروج أمير المؤمنين من داخل الدار محمرّ العين حاسراً حتى ألقى ملاءته عليها وضمّها الى صدره.

"And the Master of the Faithful's emergence, red-eyed and bareheaded, from inside the home until he threw his cover over her and hugged her to his chest." A *mulāʾah* is an article of clothing used to cover the thighs. It can also refer to a piece of cloth with two edges folded together like a smock or wrap.

[159] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Kompānī, vol. 13, p. 205, says:

ضرب عمر لها بالسّوط على عضدها حتّى صار كالدملج الأسود؛ وركل الباب برجله حتّى أصاب بطنها
هي حاملة بالمحسن لستّة أشهر وأسقطها اياه.

"Omar's beating her with a whip on her upper arm till it became like a black bangle and his kicking the door, squeezing (*ḥattā aṣābā*) her womb." She had been pregnant with Muḥsin for six months, and [Omar] made her give stillbirth to him.

Majlisī relates this narration in the chapter on what will happen when the Imam of our time reappears; the narration is from al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Omar, from one of our co-religionists' books, from Husayn Ibn Ḥamdān, from Muhammad Ibn Ismāʿīl and Ali Ibn ʿAbdillāh Husaynayn, from Abū Shuʿayb Muhammad Ibn Naṣr, from Omar Ibn Furāt, from Muhammad Ibn Mufaḍḍal Ibn Omar, from Imam Ṣādiq; *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfī*, p. 415, and from the Najaf edition, vol. 3, p. 156.

[160] *al-ʿIqd al-Farid*, vol. 2, p. 197 (Cairo: 1321 AH) says: "Omar brought a *qabas*," which according to *al-Qāmūs* means a lit firebrand. In his book *al-Shāfī*, p. 240, Sayyid Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā has no doubt that Omar did bring a lit firebrand to the front door of Fāṭimah's house. And he says:

> Apart from Shiʿa scholars, there are some Sunnis, who are not criticized by other Sunnis, who narrated it. Shaykh Ṭūsī quotes it in *Talkhiṣ al-Shāfī*, vol. 3, p. 156, and Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes it in his book *al-Ṭarāʾif*, p. 64, relating the story from several [reliable people] (*ʿan jamāʿah*). In *al-Ṭaraf*, Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes hadiths in which God's Messenger gave Ali a testamentary instruction to forbear patiently.

[161] SR: Except of course by the Seal, whose status, level, and position are hierarchically superior to the Imam's.

[162] *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah* (Egypt: Maṭbaʿat al-Ummah, 1327 AH), p. 13.

[163] It means: O God's Messenger's son, if you want, I will listen, remember, and act upon it and not divulge this secret to the people, because Jābir thought that His Holiness meant by: "Listen and remember," not to tell anyone. Then His Holiness made it clear to him to reveal this truth to his people when his camel took him home.

[164] e.g. his sayings and practices.

[165] *Rawḍat al-Kāfī*, pp. 18–30; the verses at the end of the sermon are the final verses of *Sūrat Qāf* (Chapter 50), albeit paraphrasing 50:42, saying

يَوْمَ يَسْمَعُونَ الصَّيْحَةَ بِالْحَقِّ

instead of

يوم تأتي الصيحة بالحق

Similarly he quotes, as an illustration, Qur'an 2:58:

وما الله بغافل عما يعملون

but this edition of *Rawḍat al-Kāfī* says:

عما يعلمون

whereas nowhere in the Qur'an does it say

وما الله بغافل عما يعلمون

"and God is not unware of what they know." Secondly, the phrase

عما يعلمون

"of what they know" is meaningless, so we have simply corrected it to

عما يعملون.

[166] An enclosure built with stones and dead branches to keep animals such as cows and sheep in; that is, a stable for unattended animals.
[167] His Holiness refers to Abū Bakr deprecatingly as the son of the eater of flies because in the pre-Islamic age of ignorance era people used to eat filth.
[168] Aḥjār al-Zayt is a place in Medina.
[169] According to Mullā Ṣāliḥ Māzandarānī in *Sharḥ Uṣūl wa Rawḍat al-Kāfī*, vol. 11, p. 281, *muḥalliqīn* means wearing *ḥalqah*, i.e. both armed and wearing hauberks, or specifically wearing hauberks. It is possible that it means with shaved heads as a sign, or to show their loyalty and level of obedience.
[170] Paraphrasing Qur'an 14:38.

ربنا إنك تعلم ما نخفي وما نعلن وما يخفى على الله من شيء في الأرض ولا في السماء.

O our Lord, You certainly know what we keep secret and what we reveal; and nothing in the earth or in the sky is hidden from God, which was Abraham's prayer to God.
[171] Joseph's prayer to God.
[172] *Rawḍat al-Kāfī*, pp. 31–33.
[173] Ṣadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn* (Tehran: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1301 AH), vol. 1, pp. 262 to 264, Section on the Prophet's explicit reference to the Riser; *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays*, p. 69–79, albeit worded slightly differently.

[174] Sayyid ᶜAbd al-Razzāq Mūsawī Muqarram, *Wafāt al-Ṣiddiqat al-Zahrāʾ*, pp. 36–37. And we have just chosen these couplets relevant to the occasion of the commemoration of Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ's death. However, Sayyid Muqarram quotes the entire ode, comprising 109 couplets, and it is on pp. 126–31 of the aforementioned book. It begins with:

جوهرة القدس من الكنز الخفي بدت فأبدت عاليات الاحرف.

"The Essence of the Holiness from the Hidden Treasure appeared; then it revealed the high letters."

[175] Another edition says *Khummkhāneh* instead of *Khumm-i Ghadīr*.

[176] The other edition says *gardūn*.

[177] *Dīvān-i Kompānī*, pp. 42–43.

[178] *Dīvān-i Kompānī*, pp. 42–43.

[179] *Murūj al-Dhahab* (Egypt: al-Saᶜādah, 1367 AH), vol. 2, pp. 297–98.

[180] *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān* (Sidon), vol. 2, p. 473.

[181] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 8, pp. 247–48.

[182] *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 2, p. 473.

[183] These are not in chronological order. They are just numbered to form an easy list.

[184] Dār al-Nadwah was the Arabs' parliament in the Age of Ignorance, because it was an assembly house for their chiefs to consult with each other and make decisions on important matters.

[185] SR: I will refute your argument comprehensively if you stay.

[186] SR: i.e. performed a bilabial vocal trill (*ḍarraṭ lahu*).

[187] *Murūj al-Dhahab* (Maṭbaᶜat al-Saᶜādat, 1367 AH), vol. 3, pp. 23–24; (Maṭbaᶜat Dār al-Andalus), pp. 14–15. This ode is in *Dīvān al-Sayyid Ismāᶜīl al-Ḥimyarī*, pp. 160–62, no. 45 and he narrates primarily from *Murūj al-Dhahab*, and secondly its first, second, third, fifth, and seventh couplets from *Aᶜyān al-Shīᶜah*, vol. 12, p. 239; he includes another couplet from *Aᶜyān al-Shīᶜah* and makes it no. 6:

إذا أتى معشراً يوماً أناخهم إتامة الريح في تدميرها عادا.

That is: "Whenever [Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the father of Hasan and Husayn] went to fight [the unbelievers and the pagans], he would lay them out [on the ground] the way the wind destroyed [the people of] ᶜĀd!" Thus, this ode appears as eleven couplets in *Dīvān al-Ḥimyarī*. *Al-Istīᶜāb*, vol. 3, p. 1133 only quotes the first seven couplets.

[188] Ḥimyarī means by:

تيم اخا صلف

among Taym a brother of vainglory, Ṭalḥah Ibn ʿUbaydillāh, who broke his pledge of allegiance to the Master of the Faithful, and set out to fight against His Holiness at the Battle of the Camel. Ayishe was also a member of Taym.

عدي الجاحد حق الله

ʿAdī, the rejecter of God's truth, means Ibn Omar, who belonged to the tribe of ʿAdī and failed to pledge allegiance to the Master of the Faithful.

بني أسد

Banī Asad means Zubayr Ibn ʿAwām, who also broke his pledge of allegiance, and became embroiled in the Battle of the Camel. This is because Zubayr belonged to Banī Asad Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā Ibn Quṣayy Ibn Kilāb Ibn Murrah Ibn Kaʿb Ibn Luʾayy. His son, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Zubayr, also played a large part in starting the war.

وهط سعد

The tribe of Saʿd refers to Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. Abū Waqqāṣ was Mālik Ibn Uhayb Ibn ʿAbd Manāf Ibn Zuhrah. Banī Zuhr means Banī Zuhrah, i.e. Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ's tribe. Muʿāwiyah had said to Saʿd: "Banī ʿUdhrah deny you that." Muʿāwiyah said this to Saʿd sarcastically, blowing him a raspberry. There is in the statement an insinuation, questioning Saʿd's paternity, because Muʿāwiyah wanted to give the impression that Saʿd was not a member of Quraysh! A caliph must be a member of Quraysh! Saʿd belonged to Banī ʿUdhrah. [SR: Blowing a raspberry (*ḍart*) means to perform an unvoiced bilabial trill].

[189] *Safīnat al-Biḥār*, vol. 1, p. 506. Note that Mīrzā ʿAbdullāh Efendi narrates it as such in *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamāʾ*, from the great Shiʿa scholar Sayyid Murtaḍā Ibn al-Dāʿī, the author of *Tabṣirat al-ʿAwāmm*. However, we have searched exhaustively through the sources specified, such as *al-Iṣābah*, *al-Istīʿāb*, and *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, and been unable to find a companion called Saʿīd Ibn Mālik except in *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, vol. 2, p. 10, where Māmqānī says Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī's name was Saʿd or Saʿīd Ibn Mālik; all other books say that his name was Saʿd Ibn Mālik. Thus, the reference to Saʿīd Ibn Mālik in *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamāʾ* may have been to Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī. As *Murūj al-Dhahab* says, Abū

Saʿīd al-Khudrī was one of those who refrained from pledging allegiance. The author of *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, quoting from Shaykh [Ṭūsī], *al-Rijāl*, lists him as one of the companions of the Prophet in some places, and one of the Master of the Faithful's in others; Shaykh Kashshī's position is that he was one of the first to consult the Master of the Faithful. According to the narration by Ibn Shādhān from Imam Riḍā, he was one of those who followed the way of the Prophet—and did not change (*wa lam yughayyirū wa lam yubaddilū*). The ʿAllāmah relates from Barqī that he was one of the of the Master of the Faithful's loyal companions. Imam Ṣādiq stated: "He was one of the companions of the Messenger of God and was upstanding..."

[190] The words between brackets appear in the other edition.

[191] *Murūj al-Dhahab* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿādah, 1367 AH), vol. 2, pp. 361–62.

[192] *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 2, p. 607.

[193] *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, vol. 2, p. 12.

[194] *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, pp. 24–25.

[195] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3, pp. 143–44.

[196] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 144.

[197] *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 2, pp. 609–10.

[198] *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 2, p. 610.

[199] *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3, p. 120.

[200] *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, vol. 2, pp. 11–12.

[201] SR: *Iʿtizāl* literally means withdrawal or separating (oneself). I have translated it somewhat "politically" as "non-alignment." It refers to the neutral position taken by those such as Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, who were deceived by appearances and erroneously believed that it was unconscionable to support either side in the conflict because they were both Muslims.

[202] *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 2, p. 608; on p. 607, he narrates a different wording: "O God, level out his arrow (*saddid sahmahu*) and answer his prayer."

[203] Majlisī, may God be pleased with him, relates in *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 4, p. 90, from Mufid, *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, from Ibn ʿAbbās, [who] said:

> When God sent His Prophet [on his prophetic mission], He commanded him to write letters to the people of the Book: the Jews and the Christians. And at that time, his scribe was Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ; so he wrote to the Jews of Khaybar:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من محمد بن عبد الله الاتى رسول الله إلى يهود خيبر: أما بعد فإن الأرض لله يورثها من يشاء من عباده والعاقبة للمتقين ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلى العظيم.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate: From Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbdillāh, the Meccan (al-Ummī), God's Messenger to the Jews of Khaybar: Now then, the earth belongs to God. He makes whichever of His servants He pleases inherit it. And the [good] outcome will be for the God-fearing, and there is no power and no strength except through God, the High, the Great.

[204] [Ibn ᶜAbd al-Birr] relates in *al-Istīᶜāb*, vol. 2, p. 607, from Wāqidī, from Salamah, from Saᶜd's daughter Ayishe, from Saᶜd [who] said: "When I embraced Islam, I was nineteen years old." If he became a Muslim at the beginning of the prophetic mission, when the Master of the Faithful was ten years old, he was nine years older than the Imam. In *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3, pp. 148–49, Ibn Saᶜd narrates from Saᶜd's daughter Ayishe, [who] said: "My father died in his palace, in ᶜAqīq, ten miles away from Medina; he was then carried on men's shoulders to Medina. At that time, in the year 55, Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam was the governor of Medina, and he performed the funeral prayer for him. The day when my father died, he was a little over seventy years old." Now, according to the previous narration, if at the beginning of the Prophet's Mission, Saᶜd had been nineteen years old, he would have been eighty-seven when he died, because 19+13+55=87. [Ibn ᶜAbd al-Birr] narrates in *al-Istīᶜāb*, vol. 2, p. 610, from Abū Zurᶜah, from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal that Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ died at the age of eighty-three during Muᶜāwiyah's term.

[205] *Aqrab al-Mawārid* says that *al-sukhkhal* and *al-sukhkhāl* mean weak and contemptible men; one says *rijālun sukhkhal* or *[rijālun] sukhkhāl* (weak and contemptible men). Khālid says that the singular is *sakhl*. *Sukhl* also means anything not completed. A *sakhlah* is a lamb, in whatever state it be. The plural is *sakhl*, *sikhāl*, or *sukhlān*.

SR: Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1863), part 4, p. 1325, says, citing Ibn al-ᶜArabī, al-Ṣaghānī, *al-Ubāb*, and *Tāj al-ᶜArūs*: "An infant that is an object of love to his parents: (IAạr, O, TA:) originally, the 'offspring of the sheep or goat' [app. As a sing. as well as a coll. gen. n.]."

SR: This interpretation, i.e. an infant that is an object of love to his parents, does arguably make more sense in the context. However, the author is clearly interested in the aspect of meanness, weakness, and contemptibility. It may well be the case that even as an infant, Omar Ibn Sa'd exhibited these traits. Alternatively, the observation was made by Aṣbagh, who was Shi'a. When he heard Imam Ali's words, and because of Aṣbagh's love for the Household, which includes Imam Husayn, Aṣbagh may then have perceived the infant Omar Ibn Sa'd as mean, weak, and contemptible, something that Aṣbagh later communicated to the first narrator in the chain from him. Also of academic interest, both linguistically and lexically, is just how long and internationally infants have been referred to as "kids."

[206] *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 635. Apart from Ibn Bābawayh, Ibn Qawlawayh also narrates it in *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 74, referring to Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ by name. However, in *al-Irshād*, Shaykh Mufīd, in narrating the same narration, says: "A man stood up before him." In full:

خطب علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام فقال في خطبته: سلوني قبل ان تفقدوني، فوالله لا يسئلوني عن فئة تضل مائة وتهدي مائة إلّا نبأتكم بناعقها وسائقها الى يوم القيمة. فقام إليه رجلٌ فقال: أخبرني كم في رأسي ولحيتي من طاقة شعر؟ فقال أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام والله لقد حدّثني خليلي رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلم بما سألت عنه وإنّ على كلّ طاقة شعر في رأسك ملكاً يلعنكَ وعلى كلّ طاقة شعر من لحيتك شيطان ليستفزّك وإنّ في بيتك لسخلاً يقتل ابن رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلم وآية ذلك مصداق ما أخبرتك به ولولا أنّ الذي سألت عنه يعسر برهانه لأخبرتك به ولكن آية ذلك ما نبأت به من لعنتك وسخلك الملعون. وكان ابنه في ذلك الوقت صبياً صغيراً يحبو فلمّا كان من أمر الحسين عليه السلام ما كان؛ تولّى قتله وكان الأمر كما قال أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام.

Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib delivered a sermon, and said in his sermon: "Ask me before you lose me! For, by God, you will not ask me about any group [from whom] a hundred go astray and a hundred are guided right up until the Day of Resurrection without my informing you which of them is a braying [donkey] and which of them is a drover." Thereafter, a man stood up before him and said: "Tell me how many locks of hair there are on my head and in my beard." So the Master of the Faithful replied:

> By God, my bosom friend God's Messenger told me what you would ask. Surely there is upon every lock of hair on your head an angel cursing you and upon every lock of hair in your beard a devil inciting you. And there is in your house a [weak, contemptible, and mean] kid who will slay God's Messenger's scion. The portent in that will be what I have told you coming true. Were it not difficult to prove it I would give you the answer to what you have asked. However, the portent in that lies in what I have informed you about—your being cursed and your cursed kid.

> At that time, his son was a small crawling infant. When Husayn's mandate was what it was, [Omar Ibn Saᶜd] undertook killing him and it was as the Master of the Faithful said.

Al-Irshād (lithograph), pp. 182–83; in *Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 427, Ibn Shahr Āshūb relates the whole story from Fuḍayl Ibn al-Zubayr from Abū al-Ḥakīm, from his Shaykhs.

[207] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Maᶜrifah), vol. 1, pp. 51–52, says that Imam Hasan Mujtabā said in his sermon after the martyrdom of Imam Ali: "And [my father] did not leave behind any gold (*ṣafrā'*) or silver (*bayḍā'*) apart from seven hundred dirhams, which remained from his grant [with which] he wanted to purchase a slave for his household." Ibn Saᶜd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3, p. 38, and *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl*, vol. 15, p. 172 say the same.

[208] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 50.

[209] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 73. [Abū al-Faraj] also relates via another chain:

توفّي الحسن بن علي وسَعْد بن أبي وقّاص في أيام بعد ما مضى من إمارة معاوية عشر سنين وكانوا يرون أنّه سقاهما سمّا.

"Hasan Ibn Ali and Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ passed away within days [of each other] ten years into Muᶜāwiyah's term as emir. People believed that he poisoned them. It says so in his commentary on Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd."

[210] The narrators are ᶜĀmir, Muṣᶜab, Ibrāhīm and Omar, his sons, and Ayishe, his daughter.

[211] In Mufīd, *Amālī* (Qom: Jāmiᶜat al-Mudarrisīn), pp. 55–58, Majlis 7, a narration is narrated from Ḥārith Ibn Thaᶜlabah. In brief it says that two men, in the beginning of the month Dhū al-Ḥijjah, or earlier, set out for Mecca and Medina. On the way, they noticed that some people were getting ready to go on *ḥajj*. Those two men said:

"We too shall set out with them," and lo! We came across a caravan in which there was an old man who appeared to be its emir. The old man came to us, asking us two: "Are you from Iraq?" We answered: "Yes, we are." He then asked: "Are you Kufans?" We told him we were. Then he asked: "From which tribe are you?" We said that we were from the tribe of Banī Kinānah. Again he asked: "From which [branch of] Kinānah?" We answered: "From Banī Mālik Ibn Kinānah." He said: "Welcome upon welcome and favor upon favor. I adjure you by every Scripture revealed and prophet sent: Did you ever hear Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib vilify me, or say: 'He is my enemy,' or fight against me?" We asked: "Who are you?" He replied: "I am Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ." We told him: "No." He asked: "Have you heard him avoid mentioning my name?" We answered: "No!" He said: "God is too Great [to be described]! God is too Great [to be described]! In that case, it is I that has been in loss, after hearing four things about him from God's Messenger. If I had just one of them, it would be dearer to me than the whole world and everything in it, [if] I were allowed to live in it as long as Noah." Then Saᶜd cited these four things, one of which was: "Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?!"

(This narration is related in *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 435; (modern edition), vol. 40, pp. 39–41; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 129, hadith 12.

[212] *al-Istīᶜāb*, vol. 3, pp. 953 and 1117.

[213] *al-Istīᶜāb*, vol. 3, p. 953; in *Tārikh Dimashq*, volume on the Master of the Faithful, part 3, pp. 173–74, footnote, there are many narrations concerning ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Omar's regret over not assisting the Master of the Faithful in the fight against his enemies.

[214] [Ibn ᶜAbd al-Birr] says in *al-Istīᶜāb*, vol. 3, pp. 952–53:

[Abū Omar said:] ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Omar died in Mecca in 73 [AH]. Ḥajjāj had ordered a man to poison a spearhead, crowd [ᶜAbdullāh] on the road, and press the spearhead against the top of [ᶜAbdullāh's] foot. It was because one day, Ḥajjāj had delivered a [lengthy] sermon and delayed the prayer, so Ibn Omar said: "Surely, the sun will not wait for you!" Ḥajjāj told him: "I am on the point of cutting off that in which your eyes are set!" Ibn Omar said: "If you do so, you are a controlling fool!" And it is said that he hid what he said from Ḥajjāj and [Ḥajjāj] did not hear him. [Ibn Omar] would go to the front in the stopping places (*mawāqif*) in ᶜArafah and elsewhere, to where God's Messenger would position himself. And this was too much for Ḥajjāj to bear, so Ḥajjāj commanded a man who had a spear with him, said to be poisoned. Then when all the people jostled away from ᶜArafah, that man stuck to [Ibn

Omar] and passed the spear over his foot, which was in the stirrup of his mount. [Ibn Omar] then fell ill from that for a few days, and thereafter, Ḥajjāj went to visit him and asked him: "O Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who did [this] to you?" So [Ibn Omar] asked: "And what will you do with him?" Ḥajjāj replied: "May God kill me, if I do not kill him!" [Ibn Omar] said: "I don't think you will do [so]. It was you who commanded him to prick me with the spear!" Ḥajjāj said: "O Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, don't!" He left him.

In *Safīnat al-Biḥār*, under art. *ʿ-b-d*, [ʿAbbās Qummī] relates from *Golzār-i Quds* by Muḥaqqiq Kāshānī:

When Ḥajjāj entered Mecca, and hanged Ibn Zubayr, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Omar went to him and said: "Stretch your hand out for me to pledge allegiance to you, for ʿAbd al-Malik." God's Messenger said: "Whoever dies without knowing the Imam of his time, dies a death of [the time of] ignorance!" So Ḥajjāj stuck out his foot and said: "Take my foot, because my hand is busy." Ibn Omar then asked: "Are you mocking me?" Ḥajjāj said: "O stupid one from Banī ʿAdī! You did not pledge allegiance to Ali, but you say today: 'Whoever dies without knowing the Imam of his time dies a death of [the time of] ignorance!' Was Ali not the Imam of his time? By God, you have not come to me because of what God's Messenger said! On the contrary, you have come out of fear of that tree on which Ibn Zubayr was hanged."

[215] The meaning of this narration:

بَلِ اللهُ ادخله وأخرَجَهُم

"Rather it was God Who allowed him to remain and evicted them," is widely (*ʿalā naḥw al-istifāḍah*) related by both Shiʿa and Sunni scholars. The latter include Imam Ḥāfiẓ Ali Ibn Hasan Ibn Hibatillāh Shāfiʿī, better known as Ibn ʿAsākir, who lived in the sixth century AH. He relates it in his well known chronicle *Tārīkh Dimashq*, in his biographical entry on Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, vol. 2, pp. 312–14, via four different chains numbered 816–19.

And in vol. 3, p. 55, hadith 1094, he relates via his chain that Saʿd Ibn Mālik (Abū Saʿīd Khudrī) went to Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and Saʿd told him: "I have been informed that you have started cursing Ali in Kufa! Have you [also] cursed him?" Saʿd Ibn Mālik answered: "God forbid!" Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ said: "By Him in Whose Hand Saʿd's soul rests, I hear God's Messenger saying something about Ali that if the saw were placed over my parting for me to vilify him, I would not vilify him!"

[216] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, pp. 129–30, hadith 14.

[217] Both Shiʿa and Sunni scholars narrate in their books about Muʿāwiyah and Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ's meeting. They include Ali Ibn ʿĪsā Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummah*, pp. 43–44, quoting from *Manāqib al-Khārazmī*, via his chain from Abū ʿĪsā Tirmidhī, from ʿĀmir Ibn Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, who narrated from his father that Muʿāwiyah commanded Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ to curse Ali, but Saʿd refused to curse him, so Muʿāwiyah asked: "Why did you refuse to curse Abū Ṭurāb?" Saʿd said:

> It is because I have three things from God's Messenger about Ali. If just one of them were mine, it would be more valuable to me than red camels. I heard God's Messenger say to Ali, having left him in charge during one of his expeditions: "Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses?" And at the Battle of Khaybar I heard him say: "Tomorrow, I will surely give the banner to a man who loves God and His Messenger, and whom God and His Messenger love."

[Saʿd] said:

> So we all craned [our necks] towards [the banner]. The Prophet then said: "Call Ali!" Ali came but he had ophthalmia, so God's Messenger spat in his eye, and handed him the banner. Thereafter, God granted victory at his hands. And when this verse was revealed:
>
> فَقُلْ تَعَالَوْا نَدْعُ أَبْنَاءَنَا وَأَبْنَاءَكُمْ وَنِسَاءَنَا وَنِسَاءَكُمْ وَأَنْفُسَنَا وَأَنْفُسَكُمْ.
>
> *Say, "Come! Let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, and ourselves and yourselves..."* God's Messenger called Ali, Fāṭimah, Hasan, and Husayn, and then said: "O God! These are my Household."

Abū ʿĪsā Tirmidhī says: "This narration is good, albeit strange and authentic when narrated this way (*ḥasan gharīb ṣaḥīḥ min hādhā al-wajh*)." And he said: "God's Messenger said: 'Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses?'" Both Shaykhs Bukhārī and Muslim narrate it in their authentic books (*ṣaḥīḥayhimā*) via various routes. And Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī also narrates it in *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, p. 503, from Tirmidhī, via a strong chain from ʿĀmir Ibn Saʿd, from his father, Saʿd. Ibn Athīr Jazarī relates it in *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 4, pp. 25–26, in the biographical note on the Master of the Faithful. This discussion is also narrated in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, p. 114, Sunni hadith

53, p. 130, Shi'a hadith, except that the author relates another achievement, namely the revelation of the Purification Verse and the five infallibles entering under the blanket instead of the *ourselves* verse. The hadith is related on the authority of Ibn Shīrūyeh in *al-Firdaws*. Similarly, Baḥrānī cites the first wording in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 115, hadith 57, on the authority of Muwaffaq Ibn Khārazmī, *Manāqib*, and on pp. 123–24 on the authority of Ibrāhīm Hammū'ī, *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*, from the Sunnis, and on p. 130, Shi'a hadith 19, from Shaykh Ṭūsī, *Amālī*. Ḥākim cites the second wording in *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3, pp. 108–9, as does Ibn Athīr Jazarī in *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 4, pp. 25–26.

[218] [Hindī] relates it via two chains in *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, and it is related in *Manāqib al-Khārazmi* from the Master of the Faithful:

> On the day the [Treaty] of Ḥudaybiyyah was signed, a group of pagans, including Suhayl Ibn Omar, and a group of pagan chiefs said: "O God's Messenger, some of our sons, brothers, and servants have taken shelter with you. They do not understand the religion. They just left, fleeing from our properties, estates, and demesnes that they used to work on. Now, return them to us." [The Holy Prophet] consulted Abū Bakr concerning them, and he answered: "Yes, they are telling the truth, O God's Messenger." Then he asked Omar: "What do you think?" and he said the same as Abū Bakr. Thereafter, God's Messenger said: "O ye Quraysh! God will most certainly send against you to behead you over the religion, one of your own men whose heart God has tested for belief." Abū Bakr asked: "Who is he, O God's Messenger?" Omar also asked: "Who is he, God's Messenger?" God's Messenger answered: "The sandal cobbler in the mosque!" [The Prophet] had thrown the Master of the Faithful his sandal to cobble.
>
> Later on, the Master of the Faithful said: "God's Messenger stated: 'Do not attribute a lie to me, because whoever attributes a lie to me, his place is most certainly in Hell!'"

Kanz al-'Ummāl (Hyderabad), vol. 15, p. 154, hadiths 433 and 434; *Manāqib al-Khārazmī* (Najaf), pp. 85–86.

[219] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 125, Sunni hadith 99.

[220] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 109–10, Sunni hadiths 1–11.

[221] Ibid., p. 110, Sunni hadiths 12–14.

[222] Ibid., pp. 110–11, Sunni hadiths 15–21.

[223] Ibid., p. 111, hadith 22; ibid., p. 116, Sunni hadith 61, via another chain from Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad Khārazmī, *al-Faḍā'il*.

[224] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 111–12, Sunni hadiths 23–40; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Ṭarāʾif*, vol. 1, pp. 51–55, after quoting six narrations pertaining to the [Imam's] status from *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, Ḥamīdī, *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and others, says:

> Qāḍī Abū al-Qāsim Tanūkhī, a great Sunni scholar, wrote a book called *Dhikr al-Riwāyāt ʿan al-Nabī* including what [the Prophet] said to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me," setting out its chains of narration and the different explanations for it. I have seen that book, which is an old copy written in 445 AH.

Qāḍī Ali Ibn Muḥsin Ibn Ali Tanūkhī relates this prophetic hadith [as said] to Ali: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses," from Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the Master of the Faithful, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Masʿūd, ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās, Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh Anṣārī, Abū Hurayrah, Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, Jābir Ibn Samurah, Mālik Ibn Ḥuwayrith, Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, Zayd Ibn Arqam, God's Messenger's freedman Abū Rāfiʿ, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Abī Awfā and his brother, Zayd Ibn Abī Awfā, Abū Surayḥah, Ḥudhayfah Ibn Usayd, Anas Ibn Mālik, Abū Buraydah Aslamī, Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, ʿAqīl Ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ḥabashī Ibn Junādah Salūlī, Asmāʾ Bint ʿUmays, Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib, Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, Ḥabīb Ibn Abī Thābit, Fāṭimah Bint Ali, and Sharḥabīl Ibn Saʿd.

And Ḥākim Abū Naṣr Ḥarbī, a luminary of the four [Sunni] schools of jurisprudence (*madhhabs*) who lived to see Abū ʿAbbās Ibn ʿUqdah Ḥāfiẓ's (d. 333 AH) lifetime, says in his book that [Ibn ʿUqdah] narrated God's Messenger's words about Ali: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses." And he adds that [Ibn ʿUqdah] narrated it from Abū Bakr, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Omar, Othman, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAwf, Saʿīd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Omar, Ibn Mundhir, Ubayy Ibn Kaʿb, Abū Yaqẓān, ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir, Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh, Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, Fāṭimah, the daughter of Ḥamzah, God's Messenger's daughter Fāṭimah, Asmāʾ Bint ʿUmays, Arwā Bint Ḥārith Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Muʿāwiyah, Buraydah, Anas, Jābir Ibn Samurah, Mālik Ibn Ḥuwayrith, Zayd Ibn Arqam, Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, and Ḥabashī Ibn Junādah.

[225] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 111, hadith 32; Ibn Maghāzilī, *al-Manāqib*, pp. 32–33, hadith 49. Ḥāfiẓ Dhahabī narrates this in *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 1, p. 1262; Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī also cites it in *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 324.

[226] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 112, Sunni hadith 40; another narration is also related in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 114–15, with the same meaning but via another chain from Khārazmī concerning the virtues of the Master of the Faithful, under the heading: Sunni hadith 55; on p. 114, Sunni hadith 52, it is narrated from the book *al-Firdaws*, the author of which is Ibn Shīrūyeh al-Daylamī; [*Ghāyat al-Marām*] p. 124, Sunni hadith 92 via another chain, from Ali Ibn Aḥmad Mālikī, in *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*. Omar says at the end of [the hadith]:

God's Messenger stated:

كذب من زعم أنّه يحبّني ويبغضك. يا عليّ من أحبك فقد أحبني ومن أحبني أحبه الله تعالى وأدخله الجنّة، ومن أبغضك فقد أبغضني ومن أبغضني أبغضه الله تعالى وأدخله النار.

"Whoever claims that he loves me but hates you, is lying. O Ali, whoever loves you loves me. Transcendent God loves whoever loves me, God will send him to Heaven. Whoever hates you hates me. God hates whoever hates me and will send him to Hell."

Similarly, this entire hadith appears in *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, vol. 15, p. 108, described as a hadith with a chain of narration back to Omar (*Musnad Omar*), and it says: "This hadith is related by Hasan Ibn Badr among what he relates from the caliphs [sic], and by Ḥākim Darkunī, Shīrāzī in *al-Alqāb*, and Ibn Najjār.

[227] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 112, Sunni hadith 42.

[228] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 114, Sunni hadith 48.

[229] Al-Jurf is a place 5.5 km (1 *farsakh*) away from Medina, where God's Messenger had arranged to meet, for all the army to assemble, then set out for battle.

[230] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 114, Sunni hadith 50.

[231] Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, p. 166 says that the distance between Dūmat al-Jandal and Medina is some fifteen nights' journey; *Muʿjam al-Buldān* says that it is seven stages from Damascus on the way to the City of the Prophet (Medina). (A stage (*marḥalah*) means eight *farsakhs* (44 km), or a day's journey.) It also says:

It is either Dūmat or Dawmat al-Jandal, but Ibn Durayd says that [to spell it as] Dawmat is a mistake on the part of the traditionists. There are high walls around Dūmat fortifying it. The fort belonged to Ukaydir Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn ʿAbd al-Hayy Ibn Aʿyā Ibn al-Ḥārith, who was the Sultan. Khālid Ibn Walīd took this fortress, Ukaydir became a Muslim, Khālid dispatched him to Medina, and a treaty was signed between him and the Prophet.

[232] *Al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 151 says that the Prophet's encampment was at Jurf; *Muʿjam al-Buldān* says that Jurf is about three miles away from Medina.

[233] *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 946 says that ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy deliberately stationed his army near the Prophet's, close to Dhubāb. According to their claim, his army was no smaller than the Prophet's; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, p. 165; Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 995; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 368; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, pp. 5–7.

[234] Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 995–96; *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, pp. 149–50; *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 277; *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah* (4th ed.), vol. 2, p. 198, and, vol. 1, p. 399.

[235] *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol., 6, p. 635, from the biographical note on Imam Hasan.

[236] Majlisī explains in *Biḥār al-Anwār* that *darmak* is a kind of clothing made of camel wool, which is decorated with velvet fringes.

[237] *Al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 150 says:

The Romans are called Banū al-Aṣfar (the sons of the yellow-skinned man), because they are the offspring of Rome, son of Esau, son of Isaac, God's Prophet. He was called *al-aṣfar* because he was yellow-skinned. Historians of antiquity say that Esau married his cousin, Ishmael's daughter, and she gave birth to a child whom they named Rome; [Ishmael] was yellow-skinned. It is said in the alternative that Rome's yellowish complexion came from his father, Esau. [SR: This complexion is normally referred to as olive-skinned in United Kingdom English, but because of the use of the words *ṣafra* and *al-aṣfar* in Arabic, references to yellow skin have been unavoidable. In United Kingdom English it used to be said that orientals were yellow-skinned, but this is now politically incorrect. American readers will be familiar with reference to those of mixed Caucasian and African race as yellow-skinned. The author Alex Haley in his bestseller *Roots* tells of how his ancestor Chicken George was referred to as yellow-skinned. Obviously it is also now considered to be politically incorrect to refer to mixed-race African-Americans as yellow-skinned]. Majlisī says in *Biḥār al-Anwār* and [Fayrūz-Ābādī] says

in *al-Qāmūs*: "Banū al-Aṣfar were the emperors of Rome, the descendants of al-Aṣfar, son of Rome, son of Esau, son of Isaac, son of Abraham, or because an army from Abyssinia defeated them and bred with their womenfolk, so they had yellow-skinned children." [SR: Again this is normally now referred to as mixed-race].

[238] *Muᶜjam al-Buldān* says that Balqā' is a village in the district of Damascus, between Damascus and Wādī al-Qurā. Its county town is Amman.

[239] *Muᶜjam al-Buldān* says that Homs (Ḥimṣ) is a well known ancient walled city between Aleppo and Damascus. This story is also told in *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, quoting from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*.

[240] *Al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 148; Ibn Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 277; Muhammad Ḥasanayn Haykal, *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, p. 425, says concerning the cause of the Tabūk expedition:

> There was not a single place left in the Arabian Peninsula that did not begin to feel Muhammad's authority, and no group or tribe tried to resist this authority without the Prophet's sending them a force to make them submit by paying land tax (*kharāj*) and continuing to practice their own religion, or by becoming Muslim and paying *zakāt*. While he had his eye on all the Arab lands so that there would not be any rebellion, and so that stability would reign in all its furthest quarters, intelligence reached Muhammad from the Byzantine Empire that they were preparing an army to attack the Arabs' northern borders to make people forget the Arabs' strategic withdrawal at al-Mu'tah, and make people forget the Arabs' and the Muslims' authority competing in every district, so that the Byzantines' territory in the Levant would once again neighbor that of the Persians in al-Ḥīrah. This intelligence reached him solidly.

P. 429 says:

> Thereafter, the army set off towards Tabūk, and news of this army and its strength reached the Byzantines. They preferred withdrawing their army, which they had sent to their borders, to protect within the interior of the Byzantines in their citadels. When the Muslims reached Tabūk, and Muhammad found out about the withdrawal of their army, and he
>
> understood how afraid they were, he stationed at the borders to fight whoever wanted to clash with him or resist him.

[241] Wāqidī (d. 207 AH), *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 989–92; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, p. 398.

[242] It has been related in *Muʿjam al-Buldān* that Widāʿ Valley is a valley facing Medina, trodden by anyone heading towards Mecca. It is so called because it is where travelers from Medina to Mecca are bidden farewell (*widāʿ*) to.

[243] *Tafsīr Majmaʿ al-Bayān* (Sidon), vol. 3, pp. 32–33.

[244] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 296–97.

[245] Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, says: "*Taḥtaqib* means: 'You will put her behind you on your mount,'" but *Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm*, p. 267, says: "You will make her your servant (*taḥtafid*)." *Al-Mīzān* concurs, citing the same commentary. However, Majlisī, in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 626, says: "*Taḥtafid* means you will make them your *ḥafadah*, i.e. your aides and servants. One edition says *tastaḥfid*, which may be more correct." [SR: In the Wāqidī quote in the main text it could simply mean "you will bag yourself..."]

[246] The full story is told in *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 313–14, relating from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*; *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, pp. 426–27.

[247] Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 989–93; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah*, vol. 4, pp. 943–44; *Tafsīr Nūr al-Thaqalayn*, vol. 2, p. 223; *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 150.

[248] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah*, vol. 4, p. 944; *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 150; *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, p. 427.

[249] *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, pp. 266–67; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 313; and Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 624, narrating from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*. And under the heading "Explanation" (*Bayān*), Majlisī explains some of its paragraphs; for example, he says that it says in *al-Nihāyah*:

خير الأمور عوازمها يعني فرائضها التي عزم الله عليك بفعلها. والمعنى ذات عزمها التي فيها عزم وقيل: هي ما وكّدت رأيك وعزمك عليه ووفيت بعهد الله فيه. والعزم الجدّ والصبر. وقال فيه: اياكم ومُحدَثات الأمور جمع مُحدَثة بالفتح وهي ما لم يكن معروفاً كتاباً وسنّة ولا اجماعاً. وقال في «النهاية»: وفي الحديث: ومن الناس من لا يذكر الله إلّا مهاجراً يريد هجران القلب وترك الإخلاص في الذكر فكان قلبه مهاجراً للسانه غير مواصل له. ومنه الحديث: ولا يسمعون القرآن إلّا هُجراً، يريد الترك والاعراض عنه. والأمر إلى آخره، أي الأمر إنّما ينفع إذا انتهى إلى آخره أو الأمر ينسب في الخير والشر والسعادة والشقاوة إلى آخره وعلى التقديرين الفقرة الثانية كالتفسير لها. وجاء في روايات العامة: شرّ الروايا روايا الكذب.

The best things are *ʿawāzimuhā*, i.e. the obligatory ones that God has commanded you (*ʿazama ʿalayk*) to do. Those which have *ʿazm* mean those in which there is resolve. It is said [in the alternative] that it is those of them upon which you have affirmed your opinion, upon which you have resolved (*ʿazmuka ʿalayh*), and in relation to which you have fulfilled God's covenant. *ʿAzm* means earnestness and forbearance. The Prophet also says:

ایاکم ومحدثات الامور

"Beware innovated matters" (*muḥdathāt al-umūr*, which is the plural of *muḥdath*), i.e. those not known scripturally, through the Sunnah, or through consensus.

Al-Nihāyah says:

The hadith says: "There are among people...those who only remember God," *muhājiran* meaning their hearts are not in it (*hujrān al-qalb*) and without sincerity in the remembrance. There is a departure between their hearts and their tongues (*fa kān qalbuhu muhājiran li lisānihi*), and they are not linked. Another example is the hadith that says: "They only listen to the Qur'an," *hujran* meaning forsaking and turning away from it. *Wa al-amr ilā ākhirihi* means the matter is only of benefit if it reaches its end, or the matter's good or evil or happiness or wretchedness is attributable to its end. In either case, the second paragraph is like an explanation for it.

Sunni hadiths say:

شرالرواياروايااالكذب.

"The worst of narrators are the narrators of untruthfulness." Wāqidī quotes this sermon in *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1016–17. However, he has said that the Prophet delivered it in Tabūk. Ibn Kathīr relates it in *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 13, from Bayhaqī and from *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 161.

[250] Majlisī narrates this sermon in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6 p. 512, among the narrations pertaining to the Battle of Uḥud, from Wāqidī, as Wāqidī narrates in *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 1, pp. 221–23.

[251] *Shabāb* means *tashbīb*; one says: "An ode has a beautiful commencement" (*ḥasanat al-shabāb*) i.e., *tashbīb* has been used well. *Tashbīb* is the mention of the days of youth and of play or sport and amatory language (*Lane's Lexicon*, vol. 4, p. 1493). It is the poet's description of women's beautiful qualities and explanation of his intense love for them and attraction to them.

[252] A *dhirāᶜ* is the distance between the end of the elbow and the tip of the middle finger. It is about fifty centimeters. Four *dhirāᶜs* is two meters, an allusion to the length of a grave.
[253] i.e. an example of "I am talking to you. Listen, neighbor."
[254] The meaning of this sentence is "I am reciting this poem, and I love that beloved; I mean you, young lady sitting in the pavilion!" We say something similar in Persian:

به در گویم، دیوار تو بشنو.

the literal meaning of which is "I am speaking to the door, but listen, wall!" Maydānī says in *Majmaᶜ al-Amthāl*, vol. 1, pp. 49–50 (Beirut):

> The first person to use this idiom:
>
> إيّاكِ أعْنِي وَاسْمَعِي يا جَارَه
>
> "I am speaking to you; listen, neighbor," was Sahl Ibn Mālik Fazārī, who set off for Nuᶜmān, and on the way, came across one of the clans of Ṭayy, and asked who their chief was. He was told it was Ḥārithah Ibn Lām, so he directed his saddle, but did not catch him in, so Ḥārithah's sister told him: "Come in! Welcome! There's plenty of room!" Sahl dismounted, and that respectable woman welcomed him, and was hospitable to him. After a while sitting there, Sahl stood up, and while she was exiting her tent, he glanced at her and saw to his surprise that she was the most beautiful woman he had seen from the tribe of Ṭayy! He fell in love with her, but did not know how to tell her how he felt, or how she would respond. Once he returned to the same place, and found a vast space next to her tent, and sat there. When he was quite sure that his voice would reach her, he began rhapsodizing:
>
> يا أُخت خَيرِ البَدْوِ والحضاره كيف ترين في فتى فزاره؟
> أصبح يَهْوى حُرَّةً مِعطاره إيّاكِ أعني واسمعي يا جَاره
>
> O sister of the best of the Bedouin and the settled peoples! What do you think of a young man from Fazārah?
> He has started loving a free woman who applies much perfume! I mean you; listen, neighbor!

Ḥārithah's sister heard the poem and realized that it referred to her, so she too answered: "This saying is not by a wise and educated man, and

this is not a right decision [meaning noble people do not agree with this way of contact.] We will respect you as long as you are going to stay with us, and then leave this place, bidding peace [be upon us] whenever you like." Some people have said that the woman had answered him in two couplets of poetry:

إني أقول يافتي فزاره لا أبتغي الزوج ولا الدعاره
ولا فراق أهل هذي الجاره فارحل إلى أهلك باستخاره.

I say, O young man of Fazārah: I have no desire for either a husband
or indecency; or leaving the people of this neighborhood!
So, set off for your people, seeking that which is best!

When he heard what she had said, the young man felt ashamed and said: "Woe upon me! Woe on the ugliness of my affair! I did not mean an ill intention towards you by offering my love to you!" The girl answered: "You are right." And she felt ashamed over having been so hasty to accuse him. The young man left the place for Nuʿmān. Nuʿmān too received him warmly and hospitably. Later on, he went to Ḥārithah, the brother of that girl. This time the girl caught sight of him and thought he was handsome, so she sent a message saying: "Ask for my hand if you have need of me one day in time, and you will find me quick to respond to what you want." Thereafter he asked for her hand, married her, and then took her with him to his tribe.

This idiom is used by anyone who says something but means something else.

[255] *Tafsīr Nūr al-Thaqalayn*, vol. 2, pp. 223–24; *al-Mizān*, vol. 9, p. 314, quoting from *ʿUyūn*.

[256] Our Master, ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī, may God be pleased with him, says by way of commentary on this last verse:

I swear they sought tribulation, disunity, and division among the Muslims before this expedition, the Tabūk expedition, e.g. at the Battle of Uḥud, when ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy withdrew along with a third of the forces and they turned the tide against you by inciting people to disagree and disobey and fail to engage in *jihād*. The Jews and pagans dispatched fighters against the Muslims, spied, and so on, right until the truth came along, the truth that must be followed, and God's command prevailed—no matter how averse they were. (*Tafsīr al-Mizān*, vol. 9, p. 304)

[257] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 267–302; the extracts that Sayyid Ṭabāṭabāʾī refutes are from *Tafsīr al-Manār*, vol. 10, pp. 465–66, which comprises the teachings of Shaykh Muhammad ʿAbduh Miṣrī, as compiled by Sayyid Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā.

[258] *Wafā al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 2, p. 250, says that Dhī Awān is an hour's journey from Medina.

[259] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1045–46; *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 72; *Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm*, p. 280.

[260] *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, p. 268; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 624, quoting from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*.

[261] Mufīd, *al-Irshād* (lithograph), pp. 83–85, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, pp. 623–24, quoting *al-Irshād*; p. 627, quoting Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, and *Tafsīr al-Imām Hasan al-ʿAskarī*; p. 629, two narrations from Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*: i) from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, and ii) from Imam Riḍā, from the Master of the Faithful; p. 630 via another chain from *Tafsīr al-Imām*; *Biḥār*, vol. 9, p. 237, from Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, from Imam Riḍā, from his forefathers; p. 239 from Ibn Biṭrīq, *al-ʿUmdah*, via his chains from Saʿīd Ibn Mālik (Abū Saʿīd Khudrī); p. 240 from *Kitāb Ali Ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāsiṭī*, from Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ; p. 240 from Ibn Biṭrīq, *al-Mustadrak*, from Muhammad Ibn Isḥāq, *al-Maghāzī*; p. 241 from Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, from Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ; *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 151; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, pp. 966–67; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* (Cairo: Istiqāmah, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 368; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 7; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, p. 399; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, pp. 23–24, four narrations via four chains; Ibn Maghāzilī, *Manāqib*, p. 27–37, seventeen narrations of the Status Hadith numbered 40–56, four of which explicitly state that it was at the time of setting off on the Tabūk expedition; *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, p. 171; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 278; *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3, p. 1097; *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, p. 502; *al-Mīzān* vol. 9, p. 386 from *al-Durr al-Manthūr*; *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 4, pp. 25–26; *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 1, p. 188.

[262] Amīn-al-Islām Abū Ali, Faḍl Ibn Hasan Ṭabrisī (author of *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*), *Iʿlām al-Warā bi Aʿlām al-Hudā*, p. 169; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 631 quotes therefrom.

[263] The expert ʿAllāmah and the great narrator Shaykh ʿAbd Ali Ibn Jumʿah ʿArūsī Ḥuwayzī relates in *Nūr al-Thaqalayn*, vol. 2, p. 226, from *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, via [Kulaynī's] chain from Imam Ṣādiq, who said:

By having strong belief, nothing can hurt you; and through disbelief, nothing benefits you. Do you not see that [God] says:

وما منعهم أن تقبل منهم نفقاتهم إلا أنهم كفروا بالله ورسوله وماتوا وهم كافرون.

And nothing prevents their contributions from being accepted from them save that they have disbelieved in God and in His messenger...and that their souls shall pass away while they are disbelievers (9:54–55)?

[264] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 995; *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 165; *Aʿyān al-Shiʿa* (4th ed.), vol. 2, p. 196.

[265] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 995.

[266] SR: Because the conjunction *wāw* (and) indicates semantic differentiation.

[267] *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 59.

[268] *al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 379–80.

[269] *al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 387; *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 277–78.

[270] *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, pp. 268–69; *Tafsīr Nūr al-Thaqalayn*, vol. 2, p. 252, and *al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 387, both quoting from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 625 quoting from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*.

Wāqidī in *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p 994, lists the name of the weepers, but says ʿUlbah instead of ʿAliyyah and ʿUtbah instead of ʿAtamah, and says Ghanamah on p. 1024; *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, pp. 148–49 says: "The weepers were some of the jurisprudents among the companions, Qāḍī Bayḍāwī ʿIrbāḍ Ibn Sāriyah among them"; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 945.

[271] A *ṣāʿ* is about three kilos.

[272] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 994.

[273] Jawharī says: *Aʿrābī* is the adjective of relation or pertinence derived from *aʿrāb*; there is no singular. It means the Desert Arabs who do not learn the religious laws.

[274] *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 158; most historians, such as Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 1002, say that there were twelve thousand cavalry and the same number of camelry.

[275] *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 61; [Ḥalabī Shāfiʿī] says that Ḥāfiẓ Damyāṭī says that the Prophet stayed in Tabūk for twenty nights.

[276] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 999.

[277] An *idāwah* is a small leather pot to hold water; the plural is *adāwī*.

[278] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 625, from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 280, and *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah* (4th ed.), vol. 2, p. 198; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, pp. 950–51.

[279] No historian disputes that Abū Dharr was exiled to Rabadhah; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says so in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah, 1378 AH), vol. 8, pp. 252–62, No. 128: One of the things he said to Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī.

[280] *Nuqār* is a disease, like a plague, that afflicts livestock.

[281] *Qatt* is a seed that grows on land and that the Bedouin eat after pounding it into flour and baking it.

[282] In *Ḥilyat al-Awlīyāʾ*, vol. 1, pp. 169–70, Abū Nuʿaym narrates the process of Abū Dharr Ghifārī's shrouding differently.

[283] *Al-tahajjud bi al-Qurʾān* means reciting its chapters in the supererogatory night prayers. They would go to sleep and then wake up, and when they awoke they would pray several *rakʿahs*, reciting aloud and pleasantly after *al-Fātiḥah* ("The Opening") some verses of the Qurʾan. They would then go to sleep and awake again to recite more Qurʾan in *rakʿahs* of prayer in the same way, eventually completing eleven *rakʿahs*. This is the supererogatory night prayer (*ṣalāt al-layl*). The Prophet, his righteous companions, and the Infallible Imams used to recite the Holy Qurʾan at night in this way—in fact it is a very pleasant state. The verses in the chapter titled *al-Muzzammil* ("The Enshrouded One") enjoin reciting the Qurʾan at night in this way. May God, if He wills, bless us and all our believing brothers by our following His Prophet's example, because he is a good example.

وَمِنَ ٱلَّيۡلِ فَتَهَجَّدۡ بِهِۦ نَافِلَةً لَّكَ عَسَىٰٓ أَن يَبۡعَثَكَ رَبُّكَ مَقَامٗا مَّحۡمُودٗا.

And some part of the night awake for it, beyond what is incumbent on you. It may be that your Lord will raise thee to a praised station (17:79) (*al-Shafāʿat al-Kubrā*).

[284] *Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm*, pp. 270–71; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 6, pp. 776–77. The story of how Abū Dharr lagged behind and this story are also told at the beginning of *ʿAyn al-Ḥayāt*, p. 624, and also in *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 315.

[285] Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1000–1; Wāqidī says that Ibn Masʿūd and some people from Iraq undertook washing him; *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, pp. 153–55; *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 1, p. 302; Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr in *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 1, pp. 252–56 tells the full story of how Abū Dharr became a Muslim and of his death. It says: "Those who were

coming from Kufa were ʿAbdullāh Ibn Masʿūd with several meritorious companions of his, like Ḥujr Ibn Adbar, Mālik Ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar, and a youth from the Anṣār; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 8; *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 280; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 951. [286] Majlisī, may God be pleased with him, says in *ʿAyn al-Ḥayāt*, p. 2: "Abū Dharr was from the tribe of Banī Ghifār. His name was Jundub Ibn Junādah."

That which can be understood from Sunni and Shiʿa narrations is that none of the companions reached the level of Salmān Fārsī, Abū Dharr Ghifārī, and Miqdād Ibn Aswad in their status and position just after the Immaculate Imams.*

[Majlisī] says on pp. 5–6:

> The reliable biographers say that during Omar's term, Abū Dharr went to the Levant and stayed there until Othman's term. When news of Othman's evil deeds, especially his insulting and beating Ammār, reached Abū Dharr, he began criticizing Othman, and openly discrediting him in front of the people; he spoke of his evil deeds. And when he noticed Muʿāwiyah's practices, he reproached him, and encouraged people to follow the leadership of the rightful Caliph, Imam Ali. He would recount [the Imam's] virtues, and in this way, he interested many people in Shiʿism. The majority opinion (*al-mashhūr*) is that the Shiʿa in the Levant today, particularly in Jabal ʿĀmil, are only there thanks to Abū Dharr. Muʿāwiyah wrote to Othman to inform him what was going on. If Abū Dharr were to stay just a few more days in the Levant, he would put the people right off Othman. In response, Othman wrote: "When you receive this letter, put Abū Dharr on a difficult mount, and assign him a brutish guide, to drive his mount on night and day till sleep overwhelms Abū Dharr, and he forgets to talk about you and me!"
>
> When the letter reached Muʿawiyah, he summoned Abū Dharr, and sat him on the hump of a difficult camel without any covering, and entrusted him to a rough, violent man. Abū Dharr was a tall, thin man, and he had turned grey; all the hair on his head and all his facial hair had turned white, and he had become very frail. The guide steered the camel violently, and the camel had no saddle. His thighs became sore from the camel's difficult, abominable motion, and his flesh came off. He arrived in Medina, overstrained, tired, and in distress! When he was taken to Othman, and that cursed man looked at him, he said: "Let no eye be delighted by seeing you, O Jundub!"
>
> Abū Dharr said: "My father called me Jundub, but Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdillāh called me ʿAbdullāh."

> Othman said: "You claim to be Muslim, but say [purportedly relating] from us that God is poor, and we are rich! When have I said such a thing?!" Abū Dharr said: "I have never said such a thing, but I bear witness that I heard God's Messenger say: 'When Abū al-ʿĀṣ's family number thirty, they will take God's property as spoils, His servants as chattels, and Transcendent God's religion as a cause of corruption; Transcendent God will then deliver His servants from them.'"

This is as much as is relevant of Majlisī's words, may God be pleased with him.

It must be known that the great Sunni authors and compilers of biographical notes (*aṣḥāb al-tarājim*) have spared no effort in explaining Abū Dharr's status; they all agree that he was of the highest level of companions in terms of his precedence in Islam, superior knowledge of jurisprudence, and the Qurʾan, asceticism, truthfulness, candor, and the stand he took against unbelief, hypocrisy, and breaches of rights. He was one of the Master of the Faithful Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's disciples, true, sincere Shiʿa, firm followers, and ever-ready, self-annihilated helpers.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr has a biographical note on him in *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 1, pp. 252–56, as does Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī in two chapters of his book *Usd al-Ghābah*, firstly in the chapter on teknonyms, vol. 5, pp. 186–88, and secondly in the chapter on names, vol. 1, pp. 301–3; Burhān al-Dīn Ḥalabī Shāfiʿī has a biographical note on him in *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 155. They all say in their biographical notes on him that he was one of the earliest Muslims, being the third or fourth to become Muslim. And when news of the Prophet's mission reached him, he was not in Mecca; he was in his own town, with his tribe, Banū Ghifār. As soon as he heard the news, he hurried to Mecca, went to the Prophet, and embraced Islam. And after [the cataloguers of narrators] say that Othman exiled him to Rabadhah, and he died alone there. They say that a number of companions relate from him. He was a repository of knowledge and outstandingly ascetic, pious, and truthful.

Ali was asked about Abū Dharr, and he answered: "He is a man who understood knowledge, which other people were unable to; he then tied it up, and did not let any of it out."

It is related from the Prophet that he said: "Abū Dharr in my nation is like Jesus, son of Mary, in his asceticism. Whoever would be delighted to look at Jesus, son of Mary, should look at Abū Dharr."

Warqāʾ and others narrate from Abū al-Zinād, from Aʿraj, from Abū Hurayrah, who said: "The sky has never shaded and the earth has never supported anyone who speaks more truthfully than Abū Dharr!"

This narration is also related from Abū Dardāʾ. And Ibrāhīm Taymī relates from his father that Abū Dharr said: "My sustenance within God's Messenger's lifetime was a *ṣāʿ* of dates, and I will never exceed it until I meet Almighty God."

Aʿmash relates from Shimr Ibn ʿAṭiyyah, from Shahr Ibn Ḥawshab, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ghanm, [who] said:

> I was with Abū Dardāʾ, and a man [Othman] came to him from Medina. So Abū Dardāʾ asked: "Where did you leave Abū Dharr?" and he replied: "At Rabadhah." Abū Dardāʾ then said:
>
> إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ.
>
> *"Lo! We are God's and lo! Unto Him are we returning* (2.156). Even if Abū Dharr cut off a limb from me I would not abandon him, because of what I heard from God's Messenger. He said about him..."

Here ends the abridged quote from *al-Istīʿāb*.

Ibn al-Jazarī says in *Usd al-Ghābah*:

> Abū Dharr was the first to greet God's Messenger with the greeting of Islam. In vol. 5, p. 187, he says: "He died in the year 31 or 32 in Rabadhah, and Ibn Masʿūd performed the funeral prayer for him."

Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm says:

> وَإِذْ أَخَذْنَا مِيثَاقَكُمْ لَا تَسْفِكُونَ دِمَاءَكُمْ وَلَا تُخْرِجُونَ أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنْ دِيَارِكُمْ ثُمَّ أَقْرَرْتُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ تَشْهَدُونَ.
>
> *And when We made with you a covenant (saying): Shed not the blood of your people nor turn (a party of) your people out of your dwellings. Then you ratified (Our covenant) and you were witnesses (thereto)* and the next verse (2:84–85) were revealed about Abū Dharr and Othman Ibn ʿAffān. The reason why is that when Othman ordered Abū Dharr's exile to Rabadhah, Abū Dharr went to see him. He was ill and leaned on a stick. Before Othman was a hundred thousand dirhams that had been brought to him from one of the districts, and his friends around him were looking at it, hoping he would share it among them.

Abū Dharr asked: "What is this money?!" Othman replied: "A hundred thousand dirhams brought to me from one of the districts. I want to add the same amount to it and then see what I am going to do with it." Abū Dharr asked: "Which is greater? A hundred thousand dirhams or four dinars?" Othman replied: "A hundred thousand dirhams!" Abū Dharr asked:

> Do you remember once you and I went to see God's Messenger, and we found him sad and depressed? So we greeted him, but he did not greet us back. Then, when we woke up in the morning, we went to him and saw him laughing and cheerful. So we asked him: "May our fathers and mothers be made your sacrifice. Last night, we came to you, and saw you sad and depressed! Then, we came back to you today, and see you joyful and cheerful?"
>
> God's Messenger said: "Yes. I had four dinars of Muslim spoils left in my possession. I had not shared it out, and I feared that death would catch up with me while they were still in my possession. Today, I have shared them out and I have relieved myself of them."

Thereafter, Othman looked at Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and said: "O Abū Isḥāq! What is your opinion about a man who has already paid the compulsory *zakāt* due on his property? Does he have any further liability?" [Kaʿb al-Aḥbār] said: "No, not even if he takes a gold brick and a silver brick, he has no liability."

Thereafter, Abū Dharr raised his stick and struck Kaʿb on the head with it. He then said to him:

> O son of the unbelieving Jewish woman! What business is it of yours interfering in Muslims' laws! Is God's word more truthful or yours? Because [God] says:

وَالَّذِينَ يَكْنِزُونَ الذَّهَبَ وَالْفِضَّةَ وَلَا يُنفِقُونَهَا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَبَشِّرْهُم بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ. يَوْمَ يُحْمَىٰ عَلَيْهَا فِي نَارِ جَهَنَّمَ فَتُكْوَىٰ بِهَا جِبَاهُهُمْ وَجُنُوبُهُمْ وَظُهُورُهُمْ هَٰذَا مَا كَنَزْتُمْ لِأَنفُسِكُمْ فَذُوقُوا مَا كُنتُمْ تَكْنِزُونَ

O you who believe! Lo! Many of the rabbis and the monks devour the wealth of mankind wantonly and debar (men) from the way of God. They who hoard up gold and silver and spend it not in the way of God, unto them give tidings of a painful punishment, on the day when it will (all) be

heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads and their flanks and their backs will be branded therewith (and it will be said unto them): Here is that which you hoarded for yourselves. Now taste of what you used to hoard. (9:34–35)

Othman said: "O Abū Dharr, you have become senile, and you have lost your mind! If you were not one of the companions of God's Messenger, I would have killed you."

Abū Dharr said: "You are lying, O Othman! My beloved, God's Messenger, has informed me that I will not be killed! But as for my mind, there is enough of it left for me to remember a hadith that I heard from God's Messenger about you and about your family!"

Othman asked: "What have you heard from God's Messenger about me and my family?"

Abū Dharr said: "I heard him say: 'When Abū al-ʿĀṣ's family** increase to thirty, they will turn God's property into spoils, God's Book into a source of corruption, His servants into chattels, the wicked into a party, and the righteous people into enemy combatants.'"

Othman said: "O ye companions of Muhammad! Did any of you hear this from God's Messenger?"

[All] of them answered: "No, we have not heard this [from God's Messenger]." Then, Othman said [to Abū Dharr]: "Now, call Ali to me."

The Master of the Faithful came, and Othman told him: "O Abū al-Hasan, look what this mendacious old man is saying!"

Imam Ali said: "O Othman, do not say mendacious, because I heard God's Messenger say: 'The sky has never shaded and the earth has never carried anyone more truthful than Abū Dharr.'"

The companions of God's Messenger said: "Ali is speaking the truth, because we too heard this from God's Messenger." Thereupon, Abū Dharr wept and said: "Woe unto you! Every one of you craned his neck towards this money. Did you think that I would lie about God's Messenger?!" Then [Abū Dharr] looked at them, asking: "Who is the best among you?" They asked: "Do you say that you are the best among us?"

[Abū Dharr] said: "Yes! I left God's Messenger while [I was] wearing this [same] outer garment (*jubbah*) and he was content with me. But you have made many changes! God will hold you to account for that, but will not hold me to account!"

Othman said: "O Abū Dharr! I adjure you by God's Messenger to tell me something I am going to ask you."

Abū Dharr said: "Even if you had not adjured me by Muhammad—God's Messenger—I would still tell you!"

So [Othman] asked: "Which city is most desirable for you to live in?"

Abū Dharr said: "Mecca, God's holy precinct and God's Messenger's holy precinct; I can worship God there until death comes to me." Othman said: "No. No favor for you!"

Abū Dharr said: "Medina, God's Messenger's holy precinct!" [Again] Othman said: "No. No favor for you!"

Abū Dharr fell silent. Next Othman asked: "Which city is most odious in your opinion?" Abū Dharr answered: "Rabadhah, where I was as a non-Muslim." Othman said: "Travel there!"

Abū Dharr said: "You asked me, and I told you the truth; now I am asking you, so tell me the truth." [Othman] said: "Yes!"

Abū Dharr said: "If you sent me with a mission of your men to the polytheists, and they took me prisoner and said: 'We will only free him for a third of everything you own,' would you [pay] such [a ransom]?" Othman said: "Yes, I would pay your ransom."

Abū Dharr asked: "Now, if they said: 'We will only free him for half of everything you own,' would you pay it?" Othman said: "Yes, I would pay your ransom."

Abū Dharr asked: "If they said: 'We will only free him in exchange for everything you own,' would you do so?" Othman said: "Yes, I would pay your ransom."

Abū Dharr said:

> God is too Great [to be described]! For one day, my beloved, God's Messenger, asked me:

Abū Dharr, how would you feel, if you were asked: "Which town would you most like to be in?" And you answered: "Mecca, God's holy precinct and God's Messenger's holy precinct. I can worship God there until death comes to me." And then you will be told: "No, no favor for you!" And then you will say: "Medina, then, God's Messenger's holy precinct." But you will be told: "No, no favor for you!" Then you will be asked: "Which town would you most hate to be in?" And you will say: "Rabadhah, where I lived as a non-Muslim." You will then be told: "Go there!"

So I asked God's Messenger: "Will that happen?" And he replied: "Yes, by Him in Whose Hand my soul is, it will happen!" So I asked: "O God's Messenger, should I not hang this sword of mine around my neck, and use it to strike forward, forward?"

[The Prophet] replied: "No! Obey, and be quiet even if it is an Abyssinian slave. God has revealed a verse about you and Othman." I asked: "O God's Messenger, what [verse]?" [The Prophet] said:

Transcendent [God's] words:

وَإِذْ أَخَذْنَا مِيثَاقَكُمْ لَا تَسْفِكُونَ دِمَاءَكُمْ وَلَا تُخْرِجُونَ أَنفُسَكُم مِّن دِيَارِكُمْ ثُمَّ
أَقْرَرْتُمْ وَأَنتُمْ تَشْهَدُونَ ۝ ثُمَّ أَنتُمْ هَٰؤُلَاءِ تَقْتُلُونَ أَنفُسَكُمْ وَتُخْرِجُونَ فَرِيقًا مِّنكُم مِّن دِيَارِهِمْ
تَظَاهَرُونَ عَلَيْهِم بِالْإِثْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ وَإِن يَأْتُوكُمْ أُسَارَىٰ تُفَادُوهُمْ وَهُوَ مُحَرَّمٌ عَلَيْكُمْ
إِخْرَاجُهُمْ أَفَتُؤْمِنُونَ بِبَعْضِ الْكِتَابِ وَتَكْفُرُونَ بِبَعْضٍ فَمَا جَزَاءُ مَن يَفْعَلُ ذَٰلِكَ
مِنكُمْ إِلَّا خِزْيٌ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ يُرَدُّونَ إِلَىٰ أَشَدِّ الْعَذَابِ وَمَا اللَّهُ بِغَافِلٍ
عَمَّا تَعْمَلُونَ.

And when We made with you a covenant (saying): Shed not the blood of your people nor turn (a party of) your people out of your dwellings. Then you ratified (Our covenant) and you were witnesses (thereto). Yet you it is who slay each other and drive out a party of your people from their homes, supporting one another against them by sin and transgression? And if they came to you as captives you would ransom them, whereas their expulsion was itself unlawful for you. Believe you

in part of the Scripture and disbelieve you in part thereof? And what is the reward of those who do so save ignominy in the life of the world, and on the Day of Resurrection they will be consigned to the most grievous punishment. For God is not unaware of what you do... (2:84–85)

(*Tafsīr al-Qummī*, pp. 43–46)

Muḥammad Ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī relates in *Rawḍat al-Kāfī*, pp. 206–8, via his unbroken chain from Abū Jaʿfar al-Khuthʿamī, [who] said:

When Othman exiled Abū Dharr to Rabadhah [having forbidden everyone from seeing him off and bidding him farewell], the Master of the Faithful, ʿAqīl, Hasan, Husayn, and ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir saw him off. Then when they were bidding farewell, the Master of the Faithful said:

> O, Abū Dharr! You only ever became angry for God's sake, Mighty and Sublime is He. So have hope in Him for Whom you became angry. Surely the people feared you for the sake of their worldly gain, and you feared them for the sake of your faith! So they exiled you from their courtyard (or from the courtyard of their home or God's Messenger's home) and they tested you with tribulation! By
>
> God, if the heavens and the earth are sewn up to a servant but he then fears Mighty and Sublime God, He will assign a way out for him. Nothing but truth should keep you company! And nothing but falsehood should alienate you!

Next, ʿAqīl spoke, and he said:

> O, Abū Dharr! You know that we love you, and we know that you love us! You have looked, after regarding us, on what all the people save a few have lost. So it is up to Mighty and Sublime God to reward you! That is why the expellers have expelled you and the drivers have driven you! So it is up to Mighty and Sublime God to reward you. Now fear God and realize that your asking for a reprieve would be an instance of despondency, and your reckoning well-being to be slow in coming would be an instance of despair! So forget despair and despondency and say: "God alone suffices me, and what an excellent Guardian He is."

Next Imam Hasan spoke, saying:

O, Uncle! The people have brought upon you what you have seen! Mighty and Sublime God is *bi al-manẓar al-aʿlā* (looks down upon all the creatures and knows everything that issues from them, and none of their affairs escapes His knowledge). So stop thinking about the world by thinking about leaving it, and the hardship of what is coming to you for the comfort of what will be after it! Be patient until you meet your Prophet, who will be pleased with you, God willing.

Next Imam Husayn spoke, saying:

O, Uncle! Surely Blessed and Almighty God is able to change everything you can see. Every day He exercises (universal) power. Indeed the people have deprived you of your world, and you have deprived them of your religion! But how unneeding you are of what they have deprived you of, and how in need they are of what you have deprived them of! So you should have patience, because good lies in being patient. Patience is of nobility. Forget despondency because despondency will not avail you!

Next ʿAmmār spoke, saying:

O Abū Dharr, may God force loneliness upon whoever forces loneliness upon you! And may God fill with fear whoever fills you with fear. By God, nothing stopped the people from speaking the truth except reliance on and love for the world, except obedience to the majority (even if they are in the wrong), and authority belongs to whoever gains it by force! Those people invited everybody to their world, and they responded to them. They gave them their religion and they lost both this world and the Hereafter. That is manifest loss.

Next, Abū Dharr spoke, saying:

And upon you be peace, and God's mercy and blessings. May my mother and father be made these faces' sacrifice! For when I see them, I am reminded of God's Messenger by you! I do not have any worry in Medina such that I should [wish to] live away from you! My being a neighbor has just weighed upon Othman just as it weighed upon Muʿāwiyah in the Levant. So Othman swore to exile me to another town and I petitioned him that it be to Kufa, but he claimed that he feared that I would corrupt the people against his brother*** in Kufa. And he swore to God to exile me to a town where I would not see any close friend or hear any whispering. By

God I do not want any company apart from God, Mighty and Sublime is He. And I do not experience any loneliness with God. God alone suffices me. There is no god but Him. I rely on Him, and He is the Lord of the Great Throne. And may God bless our Master Muhammad and his good family.

The Master of the Faithful's sermon is in *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 128, constituting what he said to Abū Dharr when bidding him farewell. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd cites it and comments on it in *Sharḥ* (Dar al-Iḥyā'), vol. 8, pp. 252–62. He says:

These words are related by Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Jawharī in *al-Saqīfah*, from ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, from his father, from ᶜIkrimah, from Ibn ᶜAbbās, [who] said: "When Abū Dharr was exiled to the [other] town, Othman ordered that it be called out among the people not to speak to Abū Dharr or see him off. He ordered Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam to take him and he did so. Everybody avoided him except for Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, ᶜAqīl, Hasan and Husayn, and ᶜAmmār."

He then sets out what each of them said in turn to Abū Dharr and what Abū Dharr said to them in the same words we have related from *Rawḍat al-Kāfī*. He says:

When Hasan wanted to speak to Abū Dharr and bid him farewell, Marwān said: "Watch it, Hasan! Do you not know that the Master of the Faithful [sic] (Othman) forbade speaking to this man? If you did not know, you know now!" So Ali attacked Marwān, beating his mount with a whip between the ears, and said: "Away with you! May God swat you away to Hell!" So Marwān returned angrily to Othman and informed him of the news. Thereafter, Othman burned with rage against Ali.

When Ali returned to Medina along with those who were with him, Ali went to Othman, and Othman said to him: "What made you return my messenger and belittle my edict?'"

So Ali replied: "As for your messenger, he wanted to turn back my face, so I turned him back. And as for your edict, I did not belittle it!"

So Othman said: "Did my prohibition on speaking to Abū Dharr not reach you?"

Ali replied: "Must I obey you every time you enjoin disobedience?"

Othman replied: "Recompense Marwān out of your own [pocket]!"

[Ali] asked: "For what?"

Othman replied: "For insulting him and whipping his mount."

[Ali] said: "As for his mount, he can have my mount in exchange. As for his insulting me, by God he will not level a single insult at me without my insulting you by the like. I am not lying to you!"

So Othman became angry and said: "Why should Marwān not insult you? As if you are better than he?!"

Ali said: "Yes, by God, and [better] than you." He then stood up and left.

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*(The full story of Abū Dharr's embracing Islam is told in *Rawḍat al-Kāfi*:

> He did so in the presence of the Prophet. His Holiness the Prophet told him: "Now return to your homeland. There you will find that your cousin has died with no heir to take over his estate, apart from you. Take his property and stay with your family until I command you what to do." Abū Dharr did as the Prophet had commanded him and took his cousin's estate, and waited for the command of the Prophet. It is recorded in Sunni books that Abū Dharr stayed there until the Battle of Khandaq; then he returned to Medina and
>
> stayed with the Prophet until [the Prophet] passed away. This is why he did not take fight in the Battles of Badr, Uḥud, or al-Aḥzāb.

**Abū al-ʿĀṣ was the grandfather of both Othman Ibn ʿAffān and Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam, because Othman is the son of ʿAffān Ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ, who was the son of Umayyah Ibn ʿAbd Shams. Marwān was the son of Ḥakam Ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ. The Prophet would lean forward when he walked, and Abū al-ʿĀṣ used to walk behind him, mimicking him. One day, the Prophet turned around, saw him, and said: "May you stay like that!" So Abū al-ʿĀṣ would shake when he walked for the rest of his life. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥassān Ibn Thābit satirizes ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥakam as follows:

إِنَّ اللَّعِينَ أَبُوكَ فَارَمِ عِظَامَهُ إِنْ تَرْمِ تَرْمِ مُخَلَّجًا مَجْنُونَا

يُمْسِي خَمِيصَ الْبَطْنِ مِنْ عَمَلِ التُّقَى وَيَظَلُّ مِنْ عَمَلِ الْخَبِيثِ بَطِينَا.

"It is your father who is the cursed one, so accuse his bones, if you have to accuse. You will be accusing a convulsing madman. He rises in the afternoon with an empty stomach from pious deeds, [but Abū al-ʿĀṣ] remains corpulent from filthy acts!"

The meaning of ʿAbd al-Rahman's words "It is your father who is the cursed one" is, as Ibn Khaythamah relates from Ayishe: "She said what [the Prophet] had said to Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam when he said to her brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Bakr when he refused to pledge allegiance to Yazīd Ibn Muʿāwiyah as heir apparent, according to the well-known story: 'As for you, Marwān, I testify that God's Messenger cursed your father and you while you were still in his loins.'"

Many hadiths are related about [the Prophet's] having cursed and exiled Abū al-ʿĀṣ. However, what we can be certain of is that because of the Prophet's clemency and tolerance of what he found distasteful, he would only have done so for good reason. [Abū al-ʿĀṣ] remained exiled throughout [the rest of] the Prophet's lifetime. When Abū Bakr seized power, and it was suggested to him to recall [Abū al-ʿĀṣ] to [the Hijaz and specifically to] Medina, he replied: "I would not undo a knot tied by God's Messenger." Omar did the same. However, when Othman took over, he brought him back and said: "I had interceded on his behalf before God's Messenger, and he had promised me he would bring him back."

***i.e. Walīd Ibn ʿUtbah, Othman's maternal half-brother. Othman had made him governor of Kufa. Zamakhsharī and others say that he drunkenly led the people in four *rakʿahs* of dawn prayer and asked: "Shall I give you more?" (*Mirʾāt al-ʿUqūl*).

[287] *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, pp. 269–70, *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 315 from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*.

[288] Ibn Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, vol. 3, p. 12 says that *ḍaḥḥ* means the sunlight on the surface of land.

[289] *Awlā lak* is a warning. It means be aware, evil has approached you, woe is you, or may God visit upon you what you dislike.

[290] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 998–99; *Majmaʿ al-Bayān* (Sidon), vol. 3, p. 79; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, pp. 7–8; *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, p. 270; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 315 from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*; *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 152; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, pp. 622–23, 625; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 27; *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah* (4th edition), vol. 2, p. 196; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, pp. 947–48; *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, p. 428.

[291] Ṭabrisī refers to this matter in *Majmaʿ al-Bayān* (Sidon), vol. 3, p. 51 as one of the possible interpretations of this blessed verse. Majlisī cites it in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 626, relating from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*.

[292] Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1003–5; *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah* (4th ed.), vol. 2, p. 199; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, pp. 951–52.
[293] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 1003.
[294] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1009–10; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 9; *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 153; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 629, from Rāwandī, *al-Kharāʾij wa al-Jarāʾiḥ*; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 632, quoting from *al-Kāfī*; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 279–80; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, pp. 399–400; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, pp. 949–50.
[295] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1012–13; an incident like this happened on their way back from Tabūk. As [Wāqidī] says on p. 1039 of this book:

> When returning from Tabūk, between [Tabūk] and Wādī al-Nāqah, there was a rock or mountain from which only enough water to quench the thirst of two or three horsemen sprang out. So God's Messenger said: "Whoever precedes us to that place (where the water is dripping) should not drink any of it until we arrive." However, four hypocrites were the first to reach it, and when God's Messenger arrived, he said: "Did I not tell you not to?" He cursed them and supplicated against them, and then dismounted and put his hand under the dripping water until a little water had collected in his hand. Then he splashed it around. Next he rubbed [the rock] with his hand. He then prayed what God willed he should pray, and water gushed so everyone drank as much as they wished, and watered [their mounts] as much as they wished. Salamah Ibn Salāmah Ibn Waqsh says: "I told [one of those four hypocrites], Wadīʿah Ibn Thābit: 'Woe on you! Now after seeing something, don't you learn?'" He said: "He did something like this before." (*al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, pp. 155, 162; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 632, quoting from *al-Kāfī*; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 12.

[296] *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Lughah* says that *liḥāʾ* means the inner bark of a tree.
[297] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1013–14; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 954.
[298] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 2, p. 1015.
[299] SR: Somewhat idiomatic, this refers to the fact that one's face is considered to be submitted to God (*aslamtu wajhī*). See Qurʾan 3:20, which says: *then say: I have submitted my face to God* (*fa qul aslamtu wajhī lillāh*).
[300] *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Lughah*, p. 247 says that a *ḥamīt* is a hairless [leather] bag used to keep oil in.
[301] Ibn Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, vol. 4, p. 101, says *amʿāʾ* is the plural of *maʿī*, meaning intestine.

[302] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1017–18; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 15; another account—similar to ours—of Heraclius's message and God's Messenger appears in al-*Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 15 and *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 161.

[303] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1018–19; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 633, quoting from *al-Kāfī*. This narration says that Heraclius embraced Islam secretly, and refused to fight with the Prophet. The Prophet was not permitted to fight with him either, so he returned home; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, p. 400.

[304] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1021–22; Suyūṭī relates the last part of this narration in *al-Jāmiᶜ al-Ṣaghīr*, pp. 46–47 as follows:

> Bukhārī, Muslim, and Nasā'ī narrate an authentic [hadith] from Jābir:
>
> God's Messenger stated:
>
> اعطيتُ خمساً لم يعطهنّ احدٌ من الانبياء قبلي: نُصِرت بالرّعب مَسيرة شهرٍ، وجعلت لي الأرض مسجداً وطهوراً، فأيما رجل من امّتي أدرَكَتْهُ الصّلوة فليصلّ، واحِلّت لي الغنائم، ولم تُحَلّ لاحدٍ قبلي، واعطيتُ الشفاعة، وكان النّبيُّ يبعث إلى قومه خاصّةً، وبُعثت إلى النّاس كافّة.
>
> I have been given five things not given to any of the prophets before me: I have been assisted by awesomeness [radiatin over the distance it takes] a month to travel; the whole of th earth has been made a place for me to prostrate and to purify, so any man from my nation for whom it is time to pray should just pray; it is permissible for me to take spoils of war and it was not permissible for anyone before me; I have been granted [the right to] intercede, and every [previous] prophet was sent to his nation only, but I have been sent to the whole of mankind.

And due to its meaning, this narration seems to be more authentic because five things are quite clear in this narration, and one of them is being assisted by awe, i.e. one of the reasons for my victory and conquest is that God casts dread and fear into the hearts of our enemies. This part does not appear in Wāqidī's aforementioned narration in *al-Maghāzī*. As for intercession, referred to in this narration,

it is the same as the fifth one in *al-Maghāzī*, where the Prophet states: "It is for you and for whoever bears witness that there is no god but God."

[305] *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 147, says that it is called the battle of hardship (*ghazwat al-ʿasīrah*), and also the exposer (*fāḍiḥah*), because it exposed many hypocrites.

[306] *Musawwas* means moths (*sūs*) have gotten at it—moths get at food and wool.

[307] *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 79; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 6, p. 622, quoting from *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 431, quoting from *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*; and *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, p. 399.

[308] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 1009; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 279; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 949; *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, p. 429.

[309] An *idāwah* is a pyramid-shaped water skin, and a *rakwah* is a small leather bowl from which water is drunk.

[310] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1040–41; ibid., vol. 6, p. 629, from Rāwandī, *al-Kharāʾij wa al-Jarāʾiḥ*.

[311] Omar said something similar to the Prophet, when the Prophet sent Abū Hurayrah to give the glad tidings to the true believers that they would go to Heaven. Amīnī relates in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 6, pp. 175–76, from Ibn Jawzī, *Sīrat Omar*, p. 38, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, vol. 3, pp. 108, 116, and *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 1, p. 184 that the Prophet said:

> "O Abū Hurayrah, take these sandals of mine and go there behind that garden and then give whoever bears witness that there is no god but God, with conviction in his heart, the glad tidings that he will go to Heaven!" I left the Prophet and went behind the wall next to the garden, but the first man I met there was Omar. He asked me: "What are these sandals?" I answered: "They are the Prophet's sandals; he has commanded me to take them with me and to give whoever bears witness that there is no god but God, with conviction in his heart, the good news that he will go to Heaven." However, when he heard what I said, Omar knocked me so hard on the chest that I lost my balance and fell on my bottom! And then he told me: Go back to the Prophet!'" I went back, crying, to God's Messenger. The Prophet asked me what had happened. I answered: "I told him what you had commanded me, but Omar punched me on the chest and I fell on my bottom, and he said: 'Go back to God's Messenger!'" Then God's Messenger came out, and lo, there was Omar, so [the Prophet] asked: "What made you do what you did?"

Omar asked: "Did you send Abū Hurayrah with that?" The Prophet replied: "Yes." Omar said: "Don't! For I fear that people will rely on it and stop doing; let them do!"

So God's Messenger said: "So let them!"

[312] *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (Beirut), vol. 3, pp. 283–84 says: "A *farq* (pl. *afrāq*) is a Medinan weight equivalent to three *ṣā'*s or sixteen *ruṭuls*." A *ruṭul* is equivalent to three *ṣā'*s because a *ṣā'* is four *mudds* and a *mudd* is 1 1/3 *ruṭul*. 1 mudd = 4/3 *ruṭuls*, so 3 *ṣā'*s = 12 mudds = 16 *ruṭuls* because 16 = 4/3 x 12. If a *mudd* is approximately equivalent to 750 g, then the 3 *ṣā'*s gathered before God's Messenger grew into approximately 9 kg because 12 x 0.75kg = 9kg.

[313] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1036–39; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 629, from Rāwandī, *al-Kharā'ij wa Jarā'iḥ*.

[314] The strange thing is that Sunnis consider this, and similar dicta by Omar, to be virtues! And they say that he was so gifted with insight, and had such a sense of appropriateness, that the Prophet would do as Omar said! This is a big mistake they are making. They do not fully understand the true meaning of prophethood and infallibility! The Prophet would accommodate and blandish in matters like this. He would be compassionately gentle and tolerant in the face of the vexation they caused and their domineeringness in spite of their determination to go against his view. This proves his spiritual greatness, polite magnanimity, clemency, forgiveness, and tremendous manners, all of which God praised by saying:

وَإِنَّكَ لَعَلَىٰ خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ

And lo! You are of a tremendous nature (68:4). Instead, they think that this is proof that those who behaved so sacrilegiously were in the right! Muḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī narrates a similar narration in *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah*, vol. 2, pp. 83–84, in the section on Omar's virtues (*Kitāb Faḍā'il Omar*). He says:

[Abū Hurayrah narrates, saying:] I went to the Prophet, and he gave me his sandals, saying: "Take these sandals of mine, and give the glad tidings that he will go to Heaven to whomever you meet behind this wall and whoever says whole-heartedly (*mustayqinan bihā qalbuh*): 'I bear witness that there is no god except God!'" The first [person] I met was

Omar, and he asked me: "O Abū Hurayrah, what is this pair of sandals for?" I answered: "These are God's Messenger's sandals. He has sent me with them and said: 'Give the glad tidings that he will go to Heaven to whomever you meet and who bears witness wholeheartedly that there is no god except God.'" However, Omar hit me so hard between my pectorals that I fell on my bottom. Then Omar said: "Go back, Abū Hurayrah!" I returned to God's Messenger and broke into sobs. Suddenly I noticed that Omar was also standing behind me; he had followed me. So I told [the Prophet]: "I saw Omar and gave him your message, but he punched me so hard on the chest that I fell on my bottom!" [Hearing what I said, the Prophet turned to Omar asking]: "O Omar, what made you do so?" [Omar] answered: "Did you send Abū Hurayrah with your sandals [and tell him] to give the glad tidings that he will go to Heaven to whomever you meet and whoever wholeheartedly bears witness that there is no god except God?" [The Prophet] replied: "Yes!" [Omar] said: "Don't, because I fear that people will depend on it! Let them act!" God's Messenger then said: "Let them act!"

Aḥmad and Muslim also cite it. Then, Muḥibb Ṭabarī, the author of the book, says: "The Prophet's tacit approval (*taqrīr*) of Omar's action is proof of the correctness of [Omar's] opinion and judgment."

Firstly, we should consider this narration—assuming it to be authentic—to be a disgrace for Omar. Secondly, nothing at all in it proves the correctness of Omar's opinion or judgment. It is as we have stated above.

[315] *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 159, and *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, pp. 9–10 say:

قال لما كان يوم غزوة بتوك أصاب الناس مجاعة قالوا يا رسول الله لو أذنت فنحرنا نواضحنا ...
فأكلنا وادهنا قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: افعلوا فجاء عمر قال يا رسول الله ان
فعلت قل الظهر ولكن ادعهم بفضل أزوادهم وادع الله فيها بالبركة لعل الله أن يجعل فيها
البركة...

At the Battle of Tabūk, famine struck the people, so they said: "O God's Messenger, why don't you let us slaughter our water-carrying camels so that we can eat and oil ourselves?" So God's Messenger replied: "Do so." Thereafter, Omar came and said: "O God's Messenger! If you do so, there will be [too] few camels. Rather call them [to bring] their leftover provisions and pray to God to increase it. Perhaps God will increase it..."

[316] *Majmaᶜ al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 221 says that Ḥijr is the name of Thamūd's territory between Medina and the Levant. Iṣṭakhrī says:

> Ḥijr is a small village with few inhabitants, in Wādī al-Qurā, about a day's journey away through the mountains where Thamūd's houses were. God says:
>
> وتنحتون من الجبال بيوتاً فارهين
>
> *Though you hew dwellings out of the mountains, being skilful* (26:149). I have seen those houses, like our houses, but in the folds of the mountains. Those mountains are called al-Athālith. If an observer saw those mountains from far away, he would think that they are all connected, but once he is amongst them he will see that every piece is separate and can be walked around. Around them is sand that can scarcely be
>
> climbed. Every piece stands on its own, and one can only climb them with severe difficulty. And the Well of Thamūd is in that territory, about which and about the Camel, God says:
>
> لها شِربٌ ولكم شرب يوم معلوم
>
> *She has the right to drink, you have the right to drink, [each] on an appointed day* (26:155).

[317] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1006–7; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 281; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, p. 400; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 948; *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, p. 428.

[318] Ibid., p. 1008; *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 152; *al-Kāmil fī a Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 279.

[319] Ibid., p. 1008.

[320] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 16; *Aᶜyān al-Shīᶜah* (4th ed.), vol. 2, p. 199; *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, p. 429; and *Iᶜlām al-Warā*, p. 129.

[321] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, pp. 16–17; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 632 from Ṭabrisī, *Iᶜlām al-Warā*; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, pp. 634–35 from *Tafsīr al-Imām*; *Aᶜyān al-Shīᶜah* (4th ed.), vol. 2, p. 199; *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, p. 430; *Iᶜlām al-Warā*, p. 130.

[322] *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 1, pp. 92–93 says:

> Usayd Ibn Huḍayr was one of the Supporters (Anṣār), from the Tribe of Aws; his teknonym was Abū Yaḥyā, and his father was a cavalryman for the Aws in their battles with the Khazraj. Wāqim fortress was his. He was the chief of the Aws at the Battle of Buᶜāth. Usayd became a Muslim before Saᶜd Ibn Muᶜādh at the hand of Muṣᶜab Ibn ᶜUmayr in Medina.

The Prophet made [Usayd] and Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah brothers; he was a wise man and had one of the best voices for reciting the Qur'an. He says:

> One evening, I was reciting *al-Baqarah* [chapter 2]. I had tied my horse [to a tree], and my son, Yaḥyā, then an infant, was lying beside me. Then the horse roamed. I stood up, my only concern being my son [that the horse might kick him]. I then started reciting [again], but the horse started roaming again. Thereafter, I lifted my head, but all of a sudden, there was something the shape of a tent in the shadow of the lamps coming towards me from Heaven. It frightened me, so I kept quiet! Then when I awoke in the morning, I ran to God's Messenger to tell him.
>
> God's Messenger stated: "Recite, O Abū Yaḥyā!"
>
> I said: "I did recite, but my horse roamed, so I got up and my only concern was my son."
>
> [Again His Holiness] said: "Recite, O Abū Yaḥyā!"
>
> I said: "I did recite, but my horse roamed, so I got up and my only concern was my son."
>
> God's Messenger stated: "Recite, O Abū Yaḥyā!"
>
> I said: "I did recite, but I lifted my head and then all of a sudden there was something shaped like a tent in which there were lamps, and it frightened me!"
>
> [His Holiness] said: "Those were angels; they approached because of your voice. If you had recited until morning, everyone else would have woken up, looking at them."

Usayd Ibn Ḥuḍayr died in Sha'bān in the year 20 [AH], and he was buried in the Baqī' [Graveyard].

[323] *Ansā'* is the plural of *nas'ah*, a woven leather strap used as a rein for a camel.

[324] Nabīt, i.e. even if they were the Sons of Nabīt, i.e. 'Amr Ibn Mālik Ibn Aws, Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 1, p. 287.

[325] The Arabic original of this is:

إنّي أكره أن يقول الناس: إنّ محمداً لمّا انقضت
الحرب بينه وبين المشركين وضع يده في قتل أصحابه!

[326] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1042–44; Bayhaqī, *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 162; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 629 from Rāwandī, *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ*; Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, p. 632; *I'lām al-Warā*, pp. 130–31, quoting from Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*.

[327] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 1044, and *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 162; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 627 says:

> God's Messenger cursed Abū Sufyān on seven different occasions, once when they attacked God's Messenger on the pass, trying to startle his camel. There were twelve men from Banī Umayyah and five others. The Prophet cursed everyone who was at the pass except himself, the person steering from the front [ʿAmmār], and the person steering from behind [Ḥudhayfah].

[328] Verse 51 begins:

إنّا لننصر رُسُلَنا والّذين آمنوا في الحيوة الدنيا ويوم يقوم الاشهاد

Lo! We verily do help Our messengers, and those who believe, in the life of the world and on the day when the witnesses arise. Wāqidī cites this narration in *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1044–45.

[329] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 629, quoting from *Tafsīr al-Imām* and from Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, which says: "Ḥudhayfah is the most knowledgeable person on the hypocrites."

[330] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 1045; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 621, quoting from *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, in the commentary on the verse

يحذر المنافقون أن تنزّل عليهم سورة تنبئهم بما في قلوبهم.

The hypocrites fear lest a surah should be revealed concerning them, proclaiming what is in their hearts (9:64).

[331] In this very book *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 10.

[332] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 621, quoting Shaykh Ṭabrisī's commentary on

وهموا بما لم ينالوا

And they purposed that which they could not attain, i.e. killing the Prophet on the pass.

[333] *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, p. 277; *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 51.

[334] Abridged quote from *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 5, pp. 293–94.
[335] In *al-Nihāyah*, Ibn Athīr Jazarī says:

فَتَكَ: فيه «الايمانُ قيدَ الفَتْك» الفَتْك أن يأتي الرَّجل صاحبه وهو غارٌ غافل فَيَشُدّ عليه فيقتله، والغيلة أن يخدعه ثم يقتله في موضع خفيّ وقد تكرر ذكر الفتك في الحديث

"A saying about *fatk* is: 'Belief has restricted assassination (*fatk*).' *Fatk* means a man coming at his adversary unawares, attacking him and killing him. *Ghīlah* means tricking someone and then killing him from a hiding spot. *Fatk* is referred to repeatedly in hadith."

Qummī says in *Safinat al-Biḥār*, vol. 2, p. 344, art. *fatk*: "It is narrated from [His Holiness Imam] Ṣādiq that 'Islam has restricted assassination (*al-fatk*).'" Jazarī says: "Belief (*al-imān*) has restricted *al-fatk*." *Fatk* means a person attacking another unawares and killing him. Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, vol. 4, p. 253, relates via [Ḥākim's] chain from the Prophet that the saying:

لا يَفْتُكُ المؤمنُ، الايمان قيدَ الفتك

"A believer does not assassinate; belief has restricted assassination" is authentic on the basis of Muslim's conditions, although neither (Bukharī nor Muslim) relate it.

Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī (Cairo: Dār al-Maᶜārif, n.d.), vol. 7, p. 525 says that Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah did not permit the assassination of Manṣūr Dawānīqī. [Ṭabarī] narrates that in the year 140 when Manṣūr Dawānīqī went on *ḥajj*, ᶜAbdullāh al-Maḥḍ's two sons, Muhammad and Ibrāhīm, were hiding from him. Their supporters gathered together in Mecca and wanted to assassinate Manṣūr Dawānīqī. Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah's son, called Ashtar, said: "I will get rid of him for you." Muhammad said:

لا والله، لا أقتله أبداً غيلةً حتى أدعوه.

"No, by God, I would never assassinate him from a hiding place, but first I would call him to fight!" Thus he thwarted their plan that they had agreed upon.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, p. 219 says, after explaining the events following the death of the Prophet:

Some of the Migrants, along with Zubayr and Abū Sufyān, went to the Master of the Faithful and ᶜAbbās and tried to incite them to rise up. In their discussion, ᶜAbbās said:

والله لولا أن الإسلام قيد الفتك لتدكدكت جنادل صخر تسمع اصطكاكها من المحل الاعلى

"By God, if Islam had not restricted assassination, solid rocks would become clay. Their shaking would be heard from the highest point. The Master of the Faithful then made a speech."

[336] In one of his explanatory statements in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 211, Majlisī says that Fayrūz-Ābādī says: "The pagans used to call the Prophet Ibn Abī Kabshah, likening him to [Abū Kabshah]. [Abū Kabshah] was a man from the Tribe of Khuzāᶜah, and he opposed Quraysh's idol worship. Alternatively, [Abū Kabshah] was the teknonym of the Prophet's maternal grandfather Wahb Ibn ᶜAbd Manāf—whom the Prophet resembled—or Ḥalīmah al-Saᶜdiyyah's husband's teknonym."

[337] Commentary by the author.

[338] *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*, vol. 2, pp. 97–99, hadith 89; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 210, from *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī* and *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, vol. 2, p. 145; Shaykh Ḥurr ᶜĀmilī narrates an abridged version of this narration in *Ithbāt al-Hudāt*, vol. 3, p. 546, from *Tafsīr al-Ayyāshī*.

[339] This phrase is not a verse; however, it does paraphrase Qurʾan, 9:74.

[340] *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*, vol. 3 pp. 99–100; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 211; *Tafsīr al-Ṣāfī*, vol. 1, p. 716; *Tafsīr al-Ṣāfī*, vol. 2, p. 147.

[341] In *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, pp. 296–97, Amīnī relates six authentic narrations from *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* about this. In *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 3, p. 420, ᶜAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī says in an authentic narration related from *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* and *Muslim*, from Abū Hurayrah, that the Prophet stated: "On the Day of Resurrection, some of my companions [or he said: of my people], will come to me, but they will be driven away from the Pool. So, I will say: 'O my Lord! My companions!' But [God] will state: 'You have no knowledge of what they will innovate after you are gone! They turned away on their backs still facing forward so they will be driven back!'" And similarly, in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 8, pp. 7–8, there are several narrations via Sunni routes about the deviation of the companions. Kulaynī relates a narration in *Rawḍat al-Kāfī*, p. 345 via his chain from Zurārah, from [Imam] Bāqir

or [Imam] Ṣādiq, about the Prophet's vision about apes jumping on his pulpit.

[342] *Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī*, pp. 159–62; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, pp. 199–200, quoting from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*.

[343] *al-Iqbāl*, p. 458.

[344] The *thaniyyah* is the trail on the way to the pass (*ʿaqabah*).

[345] *al-Iqbāl*, pp. 458 and 459, and *Tafsīr al-Kashshāf* (Calcutta: Leisi, 1276 AH), vol. 1, p. 554, this being the oldest edition of *al-Kashshāf* (Maṭbaʿt al-Sharqiyyah), vol. 1, p. 403.

[346] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 1068.

[347] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 1046; *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, p. 432.

[348] In *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1073–74, where he explains these verses, he says: "Ibn Abī al-Zinād related to us from Shaybah Ibn Niṣāḥ, from Aʿraj, who said: "He means none other than the two men, and does not mean the mosques."

[349] *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, pp. 163–64; *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 281–82.

[350] *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 73; *al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 415, from *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 633, from *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*; p. 634 from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, p. 400; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, pp. 956–57.

[351] *Tafsīr al-Qummī* says Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah, as does *al-Mīzān*, which quotes therefrom; we have corrected the quote from Wāqidī accordingly—Wāqidī says Yazīd Ibn Jāriyah.

[352] *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, p. 281; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 414 from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*; *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 1046; *Tafsīr Nūr al-Thaqalayn*, vol. 2, p. 269.

[353] *Tafsīr al-Qummī* says until his frame (*al-bunyah*) was burned, but *al-Maghāzī* says until his buttock (*ilyatuhu*) was burned, so we have cited each one separately. SR: *Bunyah*, as per *Tafsīr al-Qummī* could mean his frame or alternatively it could mean the structure [of the mosque].

[354] *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, pp. 72–73; *al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 415 quoting from *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*.

[355] A *mirbad* is a pen in which camels and sheep are kept.

[356] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1048–49.

[357] SR: Not content with using a stone or something similar to wipe away the fecal matter itself (*al-ʿayn*), they were diligent enough to wash away any remaining trace (*athar*).

[358] *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 73; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 416 quoting from *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*; *Tafsīr Nūr al-Thaqalayn*, vol. 2, p. 268; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 634 quoting *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*.

[359] *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*, vol. 2, p. 111; *al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 415; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 3, p. 632; *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, vol. 2, p. 162; *Tafsīr al-Ṣāfī*, vol. 1, p. 731; *Tafsīr Nūr al-Thaqalayn*, vol. 2, p. 267.

[360] An *ᶜarīsh* is a booth constructed from cloth or leaves like the huts built in the gardens and fields to take shade in from the sun; the *ᶜarish* was Moses's place of worship. ᶜAyyāshī relates this hadith in *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*. vol. 2, pp. 111–12; it also appears in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 632; *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, vol. 2, p. 162; and *Tafsīr al-Ṣāfī*, vol. 1, p. 731.

[361] *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 75; the scriptural evidence in support of what Ṭabrisī says on the authority of Zajjāj—that the verse means that *jihād* was made compulsory in previous codes of religious law (*al-sharāᵓiᶜ al-sābiqah*), is verses 3:146–48:

وَكَأَيِّن مِن نَبِيٍّ قَاتَلَ مَعَهُ رِبِّيُّونَ كَثِيرٌ فَمَا وَهَنُوا لِمَا أَصَابَهُمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَمَا ضَعُفُوا وَمَا اسْتَكَانُوا وَاللَّهُ يُحِبُّ الصَّابِرِينَ وَمَا كَانَ قَوْلَهُمْ إِلَّا أَن قَالُوا رَبَّنَا اغْفِرْ لَنَا ذُنُوبَنَا وَإِسْرَافَنَا فِي أَمْرِنَا وَثَبِّتْ أَقْدَامَنَا وَانصُرْنَا عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ فَآتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ ثَوَابَ الدُّنْيَا وَحُسْنَ ثَوَابِ الْآخِرَةِ وَاللَّهُ يُحِبُّ الْمُحْسِنِينَ

Many a Prophet there has been, with whom thousands manifold have fought, and they fainted not for what smote them in God's way, neither weakened, nor did they humble themselves; and God loves the patient. Nothing else they said but, "Lord, forgive us our sins, and that we exceeded in our affair, and make firm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people." And God gave them the reward of this world and the fairest reward of the world to come; and God loves the good-doers.

[362] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 429; *Tafsīr Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 76 quotes similar questions and answers on the way to Mecca—from Zuhrī and the Imam.

[363] *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 76.

[364] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 378; *Tafsīr Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 56.

[365] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 382.

[366] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 388.

[367] *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 6; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 388.

[368] In his *Mufradāt*, Rāghib Iṣfahānī says: "The *ᶜArab* are the progeny of Ishmael. The plural was originally *Aᶜrāb*, but *Aᶜrāb* came to be used for the Bedouin."

[369] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 329.

[370] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 370–71 says, quoting from *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, quoting in turn from Bukhārī, Muslim, and Tirmidhī, from Abū Hurayrah: "God's Messenger has stated: 'There are three signs of a hypocrite: When he speaks, he lies, when he promises, he breaks it, and when he is trusted with something, he breaches [it].'"

[371] *Tafsīr Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 53; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 369–70.

[372] *al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 370.

[373] Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1049–56; *Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm*, under verse 46:

ولو أرادوا الخروج لأعدّوا له عُدّة.

on p. 272; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 316–17 quoting from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*.

[374] Wāqidī states these three's names in *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 1075, in the chapter on verses about the Tabūk expedition.

[375] *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 79; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 431–32 quoting from *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān* and *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 165; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, pp. 622–23 quoting from *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 630, quoting from *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 282; *Aᶜyān al-Shīᶜah* (4th ed.), vol. 2, p. 199; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, pp. 946–57; *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, p. 433.

[376] Ibn al-Athīr says the same in *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 282.

[377]

قَعَدَ

means those who sit a lot; it is used to refer to those who do not go to war;

أَقْعَدَهُ عَنِ الأَمْرِ

means: "He stopped him from something."

[378] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1056–57; *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 163; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 632, quoting from Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, and *Iᶜlām al-Warā*, p. 131.

[379] There is a brief description of his curse against ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy in Haykal, *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (*Muhammad's Life*), p. 432.

[380] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, pp. 1057–60, 1070; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, pp. 34–35.

[381] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 372–73; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 35.

[382] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 373–74; *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 979 relates this narration from Ibn ʿAbbās, quoting Omar as saying: "Then, when [the Prophet] stood over him, wanting to pray, I turned around until I was standing right against his chest. I then said..."
[383]

استشفاء

means to seek a cure, but it is not appropriate here, because ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy knew that he was dying. He wanted the shirt as his burial shroud. Hence the intended word in the manuscript may have been

استشفاع

meaning seeking intercession, but an orthographical error was made, substituting a *hamzah* for the *ʿayn*. Another possibility is that the intended meaning was seeking a cure in a more general sense, i.e. seeking a cure in a spiritual matter, a matter of the soul. This would not contradict his knowing he was dying.

[384] *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 57; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, pp. 621–22.
[385] *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, pp. 277–78; *Tafsīr al-Ṣāfī*, p. 237; *al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 373–74.
[386] *Tafsīr al-ʿAyyāshī*, vol. 2, p. 101.
[387] Obviously, it should say "son" instead of his "father." We have just quoted it as per the manuscript with his father (*abīhi*) instead of his son (*ibnihi*) in the first instance. It is easy to mistake *abīhi*

ابيه

for *ibnihi*

ابنه

[388] *Tafsīr al-ʿAyyāshī*, vol. 2, p. 102; *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, vol. 2, p. 149; *Tafsīr al-Ṣāfī* (lithograph), p. 237.
[389] i.e. Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm's and ʿAyyāshī's.
[390] The rest of the verse says:

يا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لا تَدْخُلُوا بُيُوتَ النَّبِيِّ إِلَّا أَنْ يُؤْذَنَ لَكُمْ إِلَى طَعَامٍ غَيْرَ نَاظِرِينَ إِنَاهُ وَلَكِنْ إِذَا دُعِيتُمْ فَادْخُلُوا فَإِذَا طَعِمْتُمْ فَانْتَشِرُوا وَلا مُسْتَأْنِسِينَ لِحَدِيثٍ إِنَّ ذَلِكُمْ كَانَ يُؤْذِي النَّبِيَّ فَيَسْتَحْيِي مِنْكُمْ وَاللَّهُ لا يَسْتَحْيِي مِنَ الْحَقِّ وَإِذَا سَأَلْتُمُوهُنَّ مَتَاعًا فَاسْأَلُوهُنَّ مِنْ وَرَاءِ حِجَابٍ ذَلِكُمْ أَطْهَرُ لِقُلُوبِكُمْ وَقُلُوبِهِنَّ وَمَا كَانَ لَكُمْ أَنْ تُؤْذُوا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ وَلا أَنْ تَنْكِحُوا أَزْوَاجَهُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ أَبَدًا إِنَّ ذَلِكُمْ كَانَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ عَظِيمًا.

O you who believe! Enter not the dwellings of the Prophet for a meal without waiting for the proper time, unless permission be granted you. But if you are invited, enter, and, when your meal is ended, then disperse. Linger not for conversation. Lo! That would cause annoyance to the Prophet, and he would be shy of (asking) you (to go); but God is not shy of the truth. And when ye ask of them (the wives of the Prophet) anything, ask it of them from behind a curtain. That is purer for your hearts and for their hearts. And it is not for you to cause annoyance to the Messenger of God, nor that you should ever marry his wives after him. Lo! that in God's sight would be an enormity.

[391] SR: i.e. that there is no god but God.

[392] *Tafsīr al-Ṣāfī*, p. 273.

[393] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 368–69.

[394] *al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 371–72.

[395] *al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 372–73, and we quote Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm Qummī's narration in this book, *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 10, from *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, *Tafsīr al-Ṣāfī*, and *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*.

[396] *al-Mīzān*, vol. 3, p. 378.

[397] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, pp. 383–86.

[398] *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 10.

[399] Mullā Ṣadrā, *Sharḥ Rawḍat al-Kāfī*, vol. 11, p. 281.

[400] *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk* (Cairo: Istiqāmah, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 368.

[401] *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh* (Beirut: n.p., 1385 AH), vol. 2, p. 278.

[402] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 7.

[403] *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 3, p. 995.

[404] *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 946.

[405] In his book *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (*The Life of Muhammad*), p. 428; based on these historical sources, Muhammad Ḥasanayn Haykal says:

> He left Muhammad Ibn Maslamah in charge of Medina, and left Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib in charge of his family, commanding him to stay among them.

In this book, he does not refer to the Status Hadith, or even mention Abū Dharr Ghifārī's being at the Battle of Tabūk, but does refer to Abū Khaythamah, Kaʿb Ibn Mālik, and some others who all stayed behind with him. This is why we have become suspicious of those like Haykal who claim to be scholars, historians, and sociologists, but instead hide the truth, ignoring givens on the basis of their ignorant fanaticism!

[406] *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 149.
[407] *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3, p. 1097.
[408] *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 149.
[409] Mufid, *Irshād* (lithograph), pp. 83–84; *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah* (4th ed.), vol. 2, pp. 197–98, quoting from Shaykh Mufid.
[410] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 7.
[411] *Tārīkh al-Tabarī*, vol. 2, p. 368; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 7; *Manāqib Ibn al-Maghāzilī*, as quoted in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 114, Sunni hadith 50; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 278.
[412] *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, p. 246.
[413] Mufid, *al-Irshād*, pp. 83–84; *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 4, p. 624, quoting from *al-Irshād*.
[414] Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-Warā*, p. 129; *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 6, p. 631, quoting from *Iʿlām al-Warā*.
[415] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 635, quoting *Tafsīr al-Imām* and Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3, p. 24.
[416] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, p. 502; *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, according to *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 114, Sunni hadith 48.

[417] A saying praising someone to whose merit both friends and foes testify; the whole couplet reads:

وَمَلِيحَةٍ شَهِدَتْ بِهَا ضَرَّاتُهَا وَالْفَضْلُ مَا شَهِدَتْ بِهِ الْأَعْدَاءُ

And a beauty to whom sister-wives have testified,
And [true] merit is what enemies have testified to.

[418] The full verse reads:

ادْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحِكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ وَجَادِلْهُم بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ هُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِمَن ضَلَّ عَن سَبِيلِهِ وَهُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْمُهْتَدِينَ.

Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good advice and dispute with them in a manner which is best. Surely your Lord knows best those who stray from His way, and He knows best those who are guided (16:125).
[419] *al-Dharīʿah*, vol. 4, pp. 192–93, says:

> The book *Tashyid al-Maṭāʿin li Kashf al-Ḍaghāʾin*, in all the following parts: vol. 8 of the series *al-Ajnād al-Ithnā ʿAshariyyah al-Muhammadiyyah*, written as a refutation of *al-Tuḥfah al-Ithnā ʿAshariyyah*, arranged by Dahlavī in twelve chapters, as a refutation of the Imamate. *Al-Tashyīd* is

a rebuttal of chapter ten only and refutes all its false allegations. He refutes chapter one about Shiʿa sects, calling the volume *al-Sayf al-Nāṣirī* (*The Nāṣiriyyah [Library] Sword*). He refutes chapter two, which falsely attributes conspiracies to the Shiʿa, calling the volume *Taqlīb al-Makāʾid* (*Overturning the Conspiracies*). He refutes chapter seven about the Imamate, and calls the volume *Burhān al-Saʿādah* (*Proof of Happiness*). He refutes chapter eleven which has erroneous impressions, fanatical views, and mistakes, calling the volume *Maṣāriʿ al-Afhām* (*Sites Where Understanding Died a Violent Death*). All these books are volumes out of the book *al-Ajnād*, written in Persian, and published in India. All of them are by ʿAllāmah Sayyid Muhammad Qulī Ibn Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Ibn Ḥāmid Husayn Ibn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Mūsawī Nīshābūrī Kantūrī (1188 AH–9th of Muharram, 1260 AH).

[420] There are passages in *al-Dharīʿah*, vol. 15, pp. 214–15, about *ʿAbaqāt*. We shall now summarize them: The book is *ʿAbaqāt al-Anwār fī Manāqib al-Aʾimmat al-Aṭhār*, in very bulky volumes written to prove the Imamate of the Imams. The author is Sayyid Mīr Ḥāmid Husayn Ibn Muhammad Qulī Khān Ṣāḥib Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ḥāmid Nīshābūrī Kantūrī (d. 1306 AH). This book is a refutation of chapter seven of *al-Tuḥfat al-Ithnā ʿAshariyyah*, which is a discussion on the Imamate. It is divided into two sections: The first relies on Qurʾanic verses to prove the Imamate, and is unpublished. The second relies on twelve narrations to prove the Imamate, and refutes objections raised to them by the author of *Tuḥfah*. It is in twelve volumes, each addressing one of the narrations: 1. The Ghadīr; 2. The Status Hadith; 3. The hadith:

انّ علیاً منّی وأنا من علی وهو ولیّ کلّ مؤمن من بعدی.

"Ali is of my kind and I am of his kind, and he is the Master of every believer after me"; 4. The Bird Hadith; 5. "I am the city of knowledge and Ali is its gate"; 6. The Likeness Hadith:

من أراد أن ینظر الی آدم ونوح فلینظر الی علی.

"Whoever wants to look at Adam and Noah should look at Ali"; 7. The hadith

من ناصَبَ علیاً الخلافة فهو کافر.

"Whoever is openly hostile to Ali over the Caliphate is an unbeliever"; 8. The Light Hadith:

کنت أنا وعلی بن أبی طالب نورا.

"Ali and I were a single light"; 9. The Banner Hadith from the Battle of Khaybar; 10. The hadith

علی مع الحق حیث دار.

"Ali is with the truth wherever it turns"; 11. About Ali fighting over the interpretation and the revelation of the Qur'an; and 12. The Two Weighty Things Hadith, all twelve of which make up the second "trail" (*maṇhij*).

[421] *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, pp. 330–31; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 112, Sunni hadith 41, quoting from *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, up to no. 9: "Whoever's Master I am..."

[422] *Minhāj al-Karāmah fī Ithbāt al-Imāmah* (lithograph), pp. 34–35.

[423] It ends:

> It is narrated about the Prophet, attributing directly to him (*marfūᶜan*) that he sent Abū Bakr with [*Sūrat*] *al-Barā'ah* ("Repentance") to the people of Mecca, and [Abū Bakr] had traveled for three days when [the Prophet] said to Ali: "Catch up with him and send him back, and you deliver it." So [Ali] did so. When Abū Bakr came to the Prophet, he wept and asked: "O God's Messenger, has something happened to me?" [The Prophet] replied: "No, but my Creator has commanded me that 'No one but me or a man of my kind should deliver it!'"

[424] *Minhāj al-Sunnah*, vol. 3, p. 8, section 9.

[425] *al-Istīᶜāb*, vol. 3, p. 34, published as footnotes to *al-Iṣābah Sharḥ al-Taqrīb*, vol. 1, p. 85; *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah*, vol. 2, p. 163; *al-Ṣawāᶜiq al-Muḥriqah*, p. 72; *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 148; *al-Isᶜāf*, p. 149; *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, p. 507.

[426] *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah*, vol. 2, p. 162, Maqrīzī, *al-Imtāᶜ*, p. 449; *ᶜUyūn al-Athar*, vol. 2, p. 217, *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 148; Zarqānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib*, vol. 3, p. 69; *Sīrat Zaynī Daḥlān*, vol. 2, p. 338.

[427] Haythamī says in *Majmaᶜ al-Zawā'id*, vol. 9, p. 111 that Ṭabarānī relates this sentence via an authentic chain.

[428] These exact words appear in *Majmaᶜ al-Zawā'id*, vol. 9, p. 120.

[429] In our discussion at the beginning of this book, we explained that this hadith does not mean that the Master of the Faithful is hierarchically inferior to the prophets, but rather the Prophet means: "This status is yours alone *because* there is no prophet after me. That is, your level, position, status, and relationship with the Divine is perfect and like the great prophets'." Hence, when the Master of the Faithful

complained to the Prophet on the steep slope outside Medina, saying: "Quraysh claim that you left me behind because you find me tiresome," God's Messenger replied: "How often the nations vexed their prophets!" meaning: "They are vexing me by disagreeing and by vexing you with this accusation and lie." (We quote the Prophet's words from *Iʿlām al-Warā*, p. 129.)

[430] Ṭabarānī relates this narration via two chains, the narrators of one of which are all authentic except Maymūn al-Baṣrī, who is reliable. Ibn Ḥibbān considers him to be reliable in *Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid*, vol. 9, p. 111.

[431] Nisāʾī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, p. 32; *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 61.

[432] *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 2, p. 213; Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3, p. 108. Ḥākim considers it to be authentic, and Dhahabī endorses this. Muslim cites it in the same words in *Ṣaḥīḥ*; Ḥāfiẓ Ganjī, *Kifāyah*, p. 28, and Badakhshānī, *Nazl al-Abrār*, p. 15 quote it on the authority of Muslim and Tirmidhī. Ibn Ḥajar cites the same wording of it in *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, p. 509, on the authority of Tirmidhī; Mīrzā Makhdūm Jurjānī, *Nawaqiḍ al-Rawafiḍ*, section 2, also quoting from Muslim and Tirmidhī.

[433] *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 77 says after this hadith:

> Another version of this narration says that this discussion took place between Saʿd and Muʿāwiyah in Medina when Muʿāwiyah was on *ḥajj*. The two of them went to Umm Salamah and asked her about this narration. So she related it to them as Saʿd had, and Muʿāwiyah said: "If I had heard this before today, I would have been a servant to Ali until he died or I died."

[434] Nasāʾī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, p. 15, via a number of chains.

[435] Ḥāfiẓ Ganjī, *Kifāyah*, p. 150.

[436] The entire verse reads:

فَإِنْ ءَامَنُوا بِمِثْلِ مَآ ءَامَنتُم بِهِۦ فَقَدِ ٱهْتَدَوا۟ ۖ وَإِن تَوَلَّوْا۟ فَإِنَّمَا هُمْ فِى شِقَاقٍ ۖ فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ ٱللَّهُ ۚ وَهُوَ ٱلسَّمِيعُ ٱلْعَلِيمُ.

And if they believe in the like of that you believe in, then they are truly guided; but if they turn away, then they are clearly in schism; God will suffice you for them; He is the All-hearing, the All-knowing (2:137).

[437] ʿAllāmah Zarqānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib*, vol. 3, p. 70; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, pp. 197–202.

[438] It appears that ᶜAllāmah Ḥillī numbers Ali's being the earliest, after Khadījah, to embrace Islam separately, but we call it number three. In that case, the end of the hadith is not linked to that achievement. Rather it is in a separate passage on Omar and his ilk's vices. Because of what we said—that the end of the hadith is the tenth achievement—some narrators of the hadith consider Ali's being the earliest [male] to embrace Islam to be a separate achievement. They relate that Ali had a little over ten achievements [of particular note], but God knows best.

[439] The entire verse reads:

لَقَدْ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَكَ تَحْتَ الشَّجَرَةِ فَعَلِمَ مَا فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ فَأَنْزَلَ السَّكِينَةَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَثَابَهُمْ فَتْحًا قَرِيبًا.

God was well pleased with the believers when they were pledging allegiance to you under the tree, and He knew what was in their hearts, so He settled serenity upon them, and rewarded them an imminent victory (48:18).

[440] The word

عنهم

("with them") does not appear in *Mustadrak*, vol. 3, p. 134.

[441] He says this in the commentary on the same passage.

[442] Muḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī Shāfiᶜī also cites this prophetic hadith in his book *Dhakhāʾir al-ᶜUqbā fī Manāqib Dhawī al-Qurbā* (Cairo: Maktaba al-Qudsī, 1356 AH), p. 86, under the heading *Dhikr Ikhtiṣāṣihi bi ᶜAshr* ("Remembering he alone had ten virtues"), from ᶜAmr Ibn Maymūn, from Ibn ᶜAbbās; Ṭabarī then says:

> Aḥmad cites this hadith in its entirety, as does Abū al-Qāsim al-Dimashqī in *al-Muwāfaqāt* and *al-Arbaᶜīn al-Tiwāl*. Nasāʾī cites some parts of it, and comments on some of the words in the hadith. Mullā Ali Muttaqī also cites some parts of it in *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl*, vol. 6, p. 153, quoting Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, and *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, on the authority of Ibn ᶜAbbās, hadith no. 2559, saying:
>
> قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه (وآله) وسلم لعلى
>
> أما ترضى أن تكون منى بمنزلة هارون من موسى إلا أنك لست بنبى إنه لا ينبغى أن أذهب إلا وأنت خليفتى.

"God's Messenger said to Ali: 'Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses except that you are not a prophet? Surely I should not go unless you are left in charge (*khalifatī*)."

Dhahabī cites it in *Talkhīṣ al-Mustadrak* (Hyderabad: Deccan, n.d.), vol. 3, p. 132, [an abridgement of] Ḥākim's [collection]. He says at the end: "As Ḥākim has already said, this narration is authentic." Ḥākim had said: "This hadith has an authentic chain of transmission even though Bukhārī and Muslim do not cite it in this format." Qundūzī cites it in *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah* (Istanbul: Akhtar, 1301 AH), p. 234 and says:

Ibn Maghāzilī Shāfiʿī cites it; Nasāʾī quotes it in *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, p. 7. Muḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī quotes it in his other book *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah* (Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Husayniyyah, 1327 AH) vol. 2, p. 203; ʿAllāmah ʿUbaydullāh Ibn Maẓhar Jamāl, *Arjaḥ al-Maṭālib fī ʿIdd Manāqib Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib* (Lahore: n.p., n.d.), p. 692 cites it, and then lists a number of scholars, one after another, who also cite it in their books, including Abū Yaʿlā and Khārazmī, Ibn ʿAsākir, and Suyūṭī in *Jāmiʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*.

[443] *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 6, p. 663.

[444] *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, commentary on the biographical note on Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī.

[445] Extract from Muḥyī al-Dīn Ṭāʾīʿ Arabī's blessings, on which Ḥākim Sayyid Ṣāliḥ Khalkhālī has written a commentary, titled *Sharḥ Manāqib Muḥyī al-Dīn* (*al-Dharīʿah*, vol. 13, p. 261). Khalkhālī was a student of Mīrzā Abū al-Hasan Jilvah's. [Tihrānī] says in *al-Dharīʿah*, vol. 8 p. 269: "*Davāzdah Imam* (*Twelve Imams*) is attributed to Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī, who is buried in Ṣāliḥiyyah in Damascus." However, he says in vol. 22, pp. 317–18: "*Manāqib Davāzdah Imam* (*The Merits of the Twelve Imams*) is attributed to Muḥyī al-Dīn, but it may actually have been written by ʿAyānī Khafrī." And in vol. 9, p. 777, he says: "ʿAyānī Khafrī, Muhammad Ibn Maḥmūd Dehdār al-Shīrāzī."

[446] In *Tafsīr al-Mizān*, vol. 2, p. 149, ʿAllamāh Ṭabāṭabāʾī says under the noble verse:

كان الناس أمّةً واحدةً فبعث الله النبيّين مبشّرين ومنذرين وأنزل معهم الكتاب بالحقّ ليحكم بين الناس فيما اختلفوا فيه

The people were one nation; then God sent forth the Prophets, good tidings to bear and warning, and He sent down with them the Book with the truth, that it might decide between the people concerning that about which they differed (2:213) quoting *Maʿānī al-Akhbār* and *al-Khiṣāl* [relating] from ʿAtabah Laythī, from Abū Dharr, may God have mercy on him, who said:

> I asked: "O God's Messenger, how many prophets are there?" He answered: "One hundred twenty-four thousand prophets!" I asked: "How many of them are Messengers?" He said: "Three hundred thirteen—very many!" I asked: "Who was the first prophet?" He stated: "Adam." I asked: "Was he a Messenger prophet?" He said: "Yes, God created him with His Hand, and blew into him of His Spirit." Then [the Prophet] said: "Four of the Prophets are Syriacs: Adam, Seth, and Enoch, who is the same Idris who was the first to write with a pen, and Noah; four are Arabs: Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Jethro (Shuʿayb), and your Prophet Muhammad. And the first Israelite Prophet was Moses, and the last of them was Jesus, and six hundred prophets!" I asked: "How many Scriptures has God revealed?" He said: "One hundred four Scriptures; God revealed fifty scrolls to Seth, thirty scrolls to Idris, and twenty scrolls to Abraham, and He has revealed the Torah, Gospels, Psalms, and the Furqān (Qurʾan)."

And on p. 146 he says:

> Know that the master prophets are those possessed of constancy, and they are Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad. Transcendent [God] says:
>
> فاصبر كما صبر أولو العزم من الرسل.
>
> *So be thou patient, as the Messengers possessed of constancy were also patient* (46:35) and as is yet to come, possessed of constancy means adherence to the first covenant taken from them, and not forgetting it. Transcendent [God] said:
>
> وإذ أخذنا من النبيين ميثاقهم ومنك ومن نوح وإبراهيم وموسى وعيسى ابن مريم وأخذنا منهم ميثاقًا غليظًا.
>
> *And when We took compact from the Prophets, and from thee, and from Noah, and Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, Mary's son; We took from them a solemn compact* (33:7). And Transcendent [God] stated:
>
> ولقد عهدنا إلى ءادم من قبل فنسي ولم نجد له عزمًا.

And We made covenant with Adam before, but he forgot, and We found in him no constancy (20:115).

[447] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 8, p. 266.

[448] Here it becomes clear that what some of the masses do—nailing pieces of cloth to old trees such as the Salvadora persica and locking them up—is totally wrong, and is a throwback to idolatry.

[449] Note that in the noble verse:

وَوَاعَدْنَاكُمْ جَانِبَ الطُّورِ الْأَيْمَنَ

We made covenant with you on the right side of the Mountain, the word

الْأَيْمَنَ

[meaning "right" or "blessed"] describes the side, and not Mount Sinai itself, i.e. the right side—the blessed side—of Mount Sinai, and *not* the side of blessed Mount Sinai.

[450] The relevant verses are:

ثُمَّ آتَيْنَا مُوسَى الْكِتَابَ تَمَامًا عَلَى الَّذِي أَحْسَنَ وَتَفْصِيلًا لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَهُدًى وَرَحْمَةً لَعَلَّهُمْ بِلِقَاءِ رَبِّهِمْ يُؤْمِنُونَ.

Then We gave Moses the Book, complete for him who does good, and distinguishing every thing, and as a guidance and a mercy; so that they may believe in the encounter with their Lord (6:154) and

وَكَتَبْنَا لَهُ فِي الْأَلْوَاحِ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ مَوْعِظَةً وَتَفْصِيلًا لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ فَخُذْهَا بِقُوَّةٍ وَأْمُرْ قَوْمَكَ يَأْخُذُوا بِأَحْسَنِهَا سَأُرِيكُمْ دَارَ الْفَاسِقِينَ.

And We wrote for him on the Tablets of everything an admonition, and a distinguishing of everything: So take it forcefully, and command thy people to take the fairest of it. I shall show you the habitation of the ungodly (7:145).

[451] The interpretation we present is one of the possible ones referred to by ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī in *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 14, pp. 212–13. We cite it because he had fewer objections to it than to the other ones, e.g. that the trail means Gabriel's horse's hoofprint made when it emerged from the sea, or that it means the vestiges of Moses's message.

[452] *al-Mīzān*, vol. 14, p. 213.

[453] The nose-peg is thrust through its nose bone horizontally. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd corroborates this in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 3, pp. 455–56 within the thread setting out this passage on the authority of Abū Jaʿfar Naqīb Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd. It is within a letter that Muʿāwiyah sent to the Master of the Faithful; ʿAllāmah Amīnī says in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 7, p. 78, footnote: "This phrase, 'like a nose-pegged camel,' appears in *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, p. 285, and in *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, vol. 1, p. 228, and in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 3, p. 407.

[454] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, p. 134; ibid. vol. 2, p. 19; *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfī*, vol. 3, p. 76, where Sharīf Murtaḍā says that the Master of the Faithful did not pledge allegiance willingly. He did so unwillingly. He says:

> Balādhurī relates from Madāʾinī, from Maslamah Ibn Muḥārib, from Sulaymān Tamīmī, from Abū ʿAwn, who said:
>
> > Abū Bakr sent for Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, wanting him to pledge allegiance, but [Ali] did not pledge allegiance. Omar had a firebrand, and Fāṭimah received him at the door and said: "O son of Khaṭṭāb! Are you going to burn down my door on top of me?" [Omar] said: "Yes. And that is more correct (*aqwā*) according to what (*fīmā*) your father brought!" Ali came and pledged allegiance.

[SR: Perhaps these insolent words are an allusion to the *masjid ḍirār* incident and Omar was drawing an analogy to that. Hadiths tell us who was the first being to draw an analogy.]

Shiʿa narrators related this account via various routes. However, we just want to quote what Sunni hadith shaykhs narrated. They would relate what they heard intact, but they may have realized about the content of some of them and desisted. What choice does someone have in the face of a threat to burn down his door, to force him to pay allegiance?! Ibrāhīm Ibn Saʿīd Thaqafī says: "Aḥmad Ibn ʿAmr Bajalī related to me from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥabīb ʿĀmirī, from Ḥamrān Ibn Aʿyan, from Abū ʿAbdillāh Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad, who said: 'By God, Ali did not pledge allegiance until he saw the smoke of the fire had entered his house!'"

[455] *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, vol. 1, p. 13, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 11, p. 111 (twenty-volume edition) say: "Many traditionists narrate that Ali, after the day of the Saqīfah, as they

forced his attendance and pledge of allegiance, lamented, complained, appealed, and cried for help, and said, pointing to the [Prophet's] grave: *O son of my mother! Surely the people have thought me to be weak, and well nigh slain me!"*

Sayyid Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā says in *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfī* (Najaf), vol. 3, pp. 79–80, within the thread of his discussion on the Master of the Faithful's pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr—that it was not voluntary:

> Ibrāhīm relates from Othman Ibn Abī Shaybah, from Khālid Ibn Makhlad Bajalī, who said:
>
> > Dāwūd Ibn Yazīd Awdī [related] from his father, from ʿAdī Ibn Ḥātim, [who] said: "I was sitting with Abū Bakr when Ali was in, and Abū Bakr said to him: 'Pledge allegiance!' Ali asked him: "'What happens if I do not pledge allegiance?' Abū Bakr said: 'I will strike what your eyes are in!' [He meant he would kill him]. So Ali raised his head to Heaven and said: 'O God, be a witness!' He then stretched out his hand and pledged allegiance."

Other hadiths have been related via various routes with similar, albeit non-identical, wordings, but all saying that Ali was forced to pledge allegiance that day; he said:

يابن امّ إنّ القوم استضعفوني وكادوا يقتلونني فلا تشمت بي الأعداء ولا تجعلني مع القوم الظالمين.

"Son of my mother, surely the people have thought me to be weak, and well nigh slain me. So let not my enemies gloat over me, and put me not among the wrongdoing people" (7:150). And he repeated and reiterated that.

[456] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 132–34, Shiʿa hadith 31, on the authority of Shaykh Ṭūsī, *Amālī*: a lengthy, meaningful sermon delivered in front of Muʿāwiyah by His Holiness Imam Hasan Mujtabā, which is all about the Master of the Faithful's and the rest of the Household's virtues and achievements, as well as the Household. Towards the end of the sermon on p. 134 he says:

وقد قال رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم: ما ولّت امّة أمرها رجلاً قطّ وفيهم من هو أعلم منه إلّا لم يزل أمرهم يذهب سفالاً حتّى يرجعوا إلى ما تركوا وقد تركت بنو اسرائيل أصحاب موسى هارون أخاه وخليفته ووزيره وعكفوا على العجل وأطاعوا فيه سامريهم وهم يعلمون أنّه خليفة موسى، وقد سمعت هذه الامّة رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم يقول لأبي عليه السّلام: أنت

منّي بمنزلة هارون من موسى الا أنّه لا نبي بعدي... وقد كفّ أبي يده وناشدهم واستغاث أصحابه فلم يُغَث ولم ينصر ولو وجد عليهم أعواناً ما أجابهم وقد جعل في سعة كما جعل النبي في سعة وقد خذلتني الامة وبايعتك يا ابن حرب ولو وجدت عليك أعواناً يخلصوك ما بايعتك، وقد جعل الله عزّ وجلّ هارون في سعة حين استضعفه قومه وعادوه وكذلك أنا وأبي في سعة من الله حين تركتنا الامة وبايعت غيرنا ولم تجد عليهم أعواناً وإنّما هي السُّنَن والأمثال يتبع بعضها بعضاً...

God's Messenger said:

> No nation has ever put anyone in charge when there is someone more knowledgeable than he is without their sinking low, until they return to what they forsook. The Israelites forsook Moses's companions—his brother Aaron, his successor and his aide—and clung to worshiping the calf, obeying their Sāmirī, even though they knew that [Aaron] was Moses's deputy.

This nation heard God's Messenger say to my father: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me"...

My father stayed his hand, adjured them, and appealed to them for help, but he was not helped or assisted. If he had found supporters, he would not have conceded to them. He was excused just as the Prophet was excused. The nation has forsaken me and pledged allegiance to you, O son of Ḥarb. If I could find any supporters against you to rescue me, I would not pledge allegiance to you. God, Mighty and Sublime is He, excused Aaron when his people thought he was weak and opposed him. Similarly my father and I were excused by God when the nation forsook us and pledged allegiance to others, and we could find no supporters against them. They are just traditions and analogous [instances] that follow each other...

Baḥrānī relates another narration similar to this one via another chain, in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 132, hadith 30.

[457] *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompanī), vol. 9, p. 246.

[458] *Dīwān al-Uzrī* (Najaf: Maṭbaᶜat Nuᶜmān, 1382 AH), p. 137.

[459] *Dīwān al-Uzrī*, p. 148.

[460] *Dīwān al-Uzrī*, p. 150.

[461] *Dīwān al-Uzrī*, p. 153.

[462] *Dīwān al-Uzrī*, p. 153.

[463] *Dīwān al-Uzrī*, p. 154.

[464] *Dīwān al-Uzrī*, p. 156.
[465] *Dīwān al-Uzrī*, p. 159.
[466] *Dīwān al-Uzrī*, p. 160.
[467] Sayyid Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā says in *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfī*, vol. 3, p. 156:

> One thing for which Abū Bakr is renounced is [the mob's] beating Fāṭimah. It has been narrated that they beat her with whips. The majority opinion over which none of the Shiʿa disagree is that Omar beat her on her abdomen, causing her to give stillbirth—the stillborn was named Muḥsin. This is the majority narration according to the Shiʿa, as is [the mob's] intention to burn her house down around her, as a group had taken refuge there, refusing to pledge allegiance!

He then says: "No one can deny these narrations that say so, because we have already set out the tradition narrated by Sunnis via Balādhurī and others. The Shiʿa narrate from several sources (*mustafiḍah*). No one disagrees."
[468] Sāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād composed a brilliant ode about the Master of the Faithful's merits and virtues. Its style is that of question and answer from beginning to end:

قالت: فمن صاحب الدين الحنيف اجبْ؟ قلت: أحمد خير السّادة الرُّسل
قالت: فمن بعده تُصفي الولاء له قلت: الوصي الّذي أربى على زحل

> They asked: "So who is the master of the pure religion? Answer!"
> I said: "It is Aḥmad, the best of the Messenger Masters."
> They asked: "So who after him do you sincerely accept as master?"
> I said: "The Executor who is brighter than Saturn."

...

قالت: فيوم حُنين من فراويَرا قلت: حاصد أهل الشرك في عجَل.

> They asked: "Then who at the Battle of Ḥunayn beheaded and skinned the pagans?"
> It was the same one who quickly destroyed the pagans.

قالت: فمن شبيه هارون لنعرفه؟ قلت: من لم يحُل يوما ولم يزُل.

They asked: "Then who is like Aaron so that we know him?"
I said: "It is he who has never changed his attitude even for one day."

...

قالت: أكلُّ الذى قد قلت فى رجلٍ؟ قلتُ: كلُّ الذى قد قلتُ فى رجلٍ
قالت: فمن هو هذا الفرد؟ سمه لنا قلت: ذاك أمير المؤمنين على.

They asked: "Is everything you have said about one man?"
I answered: "Yes, everything I have said is about one man."
He asked: "Then who is this individual? Name him for us."
I said: "That is the Master of the Faithful, Ali." (*al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 41)

[469] We relate this narration in full earlier on in this very volume, quoting from *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 115–16, no. 60, from Khārazmī, *Faḍā'il*, and similarly from the book *al-Manāqib al-Fākhirah*, and via a Shi'a route from Shaykh Ṣadūq, and from *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, pp. 241–42.

[470] The full verse reads:

وأوحينا إلى موسى وأخيه ان تبوأ لقومكما بمصر بيوتاً واجعلوا بيوتكم قبلة وأقيموا الصلوة وبشر المؤمنين

Take you, for your people, in Egypt certain houses; and make your houses a direction for men to pray to and establish the prayer and give glad tidings to the believers (10:87). 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī, may God be pleased with him, says by way of commentary on this noble verse in *al-Mīzān*, vol. 10, p. 117:

> *Al-tabawwi* means to take a dwelling and house. *Miṣr* (Egypt) is the land of Pharaoh. *Qiblah* is a verbal noun meaning the state of oppositeness between one thing and another, so it is an infinitive used as a subject. So it means build your houses opposite each other and facing in one direction. The intention was so that [Moses and Aaron] could preach to them and so they could perform congregational prayer, as indicated by the next phrase: *and establish the prayer*.

He then says:

> It means: We revealed to Moses and his brother, Aaron, to build houses for their people to dwell in, in Egypt, as if prior to that command, the Israelites had lived a Bedouin or quasi-Bedouin lifestyle in tents. And you two and your people should build your houses opposite each other, to enable you to contact each other, consult with each other, and pray

together. And establish prayer; O Moses! Give glad tidings to your people that God will deliver them from Pharaoh and his hosts very soon.

[471] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 143, Shi'a hadith 52.

[472] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 142–43, Shi'a hadith 51; In his *Musnad*, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal narrates via his unbroken chain from Ḥudhayfah:

> When the Prophet's companions came [from Mecca to Medina], they had no houses to sleep in, so they slept in the mosque, and had nocturnal emissions! Later on, the people built houses around the mosque, making the doors lead into the mosque. The Prophet sent Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal to them. He called Abū Bakr and said: "God has commanded you to leave the mosque." Then, the Prophet sent Mu'ādh to Omar to say: "God's Messenger has commanded you to block off your door into the mosque and to leave [the mosque]." So Omar said: "Hearing and obeying," and he blocked off his door and left the mosque. Next, he sent to Ḥamzah to block off his door, and he said: "Hearing and obeying God and His Messenger." In the meantime Ali was uncertain whether he should stay or whether he was among those who had to leave. The Prophet had built him a house among the other houses in the mosque; and now, the Prophet told [Ali]: "Live purely and cleansedly!" What the Prophet had told Ali reached Ḥamzah, so he said [to the Prophet]: "O Muhammad, you evict us but let Ali's children stay?!" The Prophet said: "If I had authority, I would not favor anyone over you, but by God, no one but God has given this to [Ali]! However, you are on [the path of] goodness, from God and me! Receive glad tidings!" The Prophet then gave him the good news, and later on he was martyred at the Battle of Uḥud! That made some people feel jealous of Ali. They became angry. His superiority became clear to them and to other companions of the Prophet. News reached the Prophet, so he stood up to deliver a sermon, and said:
>
> > Men are troubled that Ali has been allowed to stay in the mosque. By God, it was not I who evicted you and allowed him to stay. Surely God revealed to Moses and his brother:
> >
> > أَن تَبَوَّءَا لِقَوْمِكُمَا بِمِصْرَ بُيُوتًا وَاجْعَلُوا بُيُوتَكُمْ قِبْلَةً وَأَقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ.
> >
> > *Take you, for your people, in Egypt certain houses; and make your houses a direction for men to pray to* (10:87), and Moses commanded that no one should dwell in his place of worship, and nobody should have intercourse in it except for Aaron and his progeny. Now, Ali is to me as Aaron was to Moses. He, and not the rest of my family, is my

brother. No one but Ali and his progeny is allowed to have intercourse with their wives in my mosque. And whoever dislikes this, so there!

He pointed towards the Levant. (*Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 113, Sunni hadith 45)

And in this very volume of *Knowing the Imams*, we related [this hadith] from *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah*, from Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad Khārazmī, and from *Biḥār al-Anwār*, quoting *Kashf al-Ghummah*, quoting Khārazmī, that God's Messenger told the Master of the Faithful: "O Ali, what is permissible for me in the mosque is permissible for you, and you are to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me."

[473] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 135, Shiᶜa hadith 34. Khārazmī, *Manāqib* (Najaf), p. 60, relates via his unbroken chain from Jābir Ibn ᶜAbdillāh, [who] said:

God's Messenger came to us when we were lying on our sides in the mosque. He had a fresh date tree twig in his hand. He asked: "Do you sleep in the mosque?" All of us jumped up with fright, and Ali jumped up with fright with us! God's Messenger then said:

O Ali, come here! You are allowed to do in the mosque whatever I am allowed to do! Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophethood after me? [I swear] by Him in Whose Hand my soul is, that on the Day of Resurrection you will surely keep men away from the Pool, with a boxthorn staff in your hand, just as a banished, quarantined camel afflicted with serious contagious illness (*ḍāl*) is driven away from water! O Ali, it is as if I am looking at your position by my Pool [right now]!

[474] Ibn ᶜAsākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 1, p. 89, no. 141, "Some of the Master of the Faithful's History"; Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī, *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 135–36; Ṭabrisī, *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān* (Sidon), vol. 4, p. 206.

[475] *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays*, pp. 199–200.

[476] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 112–14, Sunni hadith 43, from Ibn Maghāzilī; Sunni hadiths 44, 46, and 47, from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal; Sunni hadith 54 from Khārazmī.

[477] In *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl* (Hyderabad), vol. 15, p. 192, relating from Zayd Ibn Abī Awfā, the Brotherhood Hadith is linked together with the Status Hadith. It is related the same way in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 6, pp. 334–35, from *Majmaᶜ al-Zawāʾid*, vol. 9, p. 11; Khārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, p. 22; Ibn Ṣabbāgh, *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, p. 22.

[478] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 151–52, Shiᶜa hadith 69.

[479] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 116, Sunni hadith 64.

[480] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 118, Sunni hadith 70.

[481] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah* (Istanbul: n.p., 1302), vol. 1, p. 55, chapter 7; Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsin wa al-Masāwī*, vol. 1, pp. 65–68 relates a hadith with elevated content from Ibn ᶜAbbās, via a chain from Abū Othman, Judge in Rayy (Qāḍī al-Rayy), from Aᶜmash, from Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, which says that God's Messenger said to Umm Salamah:

نعم، هذا عليٌّ، سِيطٌ لحمه بلحمي، ودمه بدمي، وهو منّي بمنزلة هارون من موسى، إلّا أنه لا نبيّ بعدي.

"Yes, this Ali. His flesh is mixed with my flesh, his blood with my blood, and he is to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me."

[482] We said in an earlier footnote in this volume, quoting from *al-Qāmūs*, vol. 2, p. 55, that Shubbar, Shubbayr, and Mushabbir were the sons of Aaron; it is said that the Prophet named Hasan, Husayn, and Muḥsin after them.

[483] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 127, Shiᶜa hadith 5.

[484] *Khilāq* or *khalūq* is a perfume, the chief ingredient of which is saffron.

[485] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 131, Shiᶜa hadith 24.

[486] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 142, Shiᶜa hadith 50; Shiᶜa hadith 49 is another similar hadith related from Jābir.

[487] *Kitāb Sulaym Ibn Qays*, pp. 221–22; *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl*, vol. 15, p. 150, no. 428.

[488] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 119, Sunni hadith 79; the hadith related from Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muʾmin Shīrāzī is no. 73 on the same page.

[489] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 135, Shiᶜa hadith 37.

[490] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 139, Shiᶜa hadith 44.

[491] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 127, Shiᶜa hadith 6.

[492] The Zanj or Zinj refers to an African tribe. The singular is Zinji. [SR: They are from East Africa, roughly where Zanzibar is today].

[493] *Muᶜjam al-Buldān* says that Sijistān is a large area and vast province. Some say that it is the name of the area, and the name of its town is Zaranj, which is about 120 kilometers south of Hirāt.

[494] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 126, Shiʿa hadith 1; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-Warā*, p. 429, from Sayf Ibn ʿUmayrah, from Bakr Ibn Muhammad, from Imam Ṣādiq, [who] said: "The emergence of all three, the Sufyānī, the Khorāsānī, and the Yamānī, is in the same year, the same month, the same day. There is among them no banner more rightly guided than the Yamānī's because it calls to the truth."

It is [also] related from Hasan Ibn Yazīd, from Mundhar, from Imam Ṣādiq, [who] said that before the uprising of the Upriser (Qāʾim), people will be restrained from their sins by fire appearing in the sky, redness manifesting in the sky, subsidence in Baghdad, subsidence in the city of Basra, bloodshed there, destruction of its homes, outskirts collapsing under its inhabitants, and fear for all the people of Iraq from which there is no respite.

[495] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 144–45, Sunni hadith 58.

[496] We have already explained this hadith in this volume.

[497] Sayyid Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfī* (n.p., lithograph, 1301 AH), vol. 1, pp. 148–67.

[498] Sayyid Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfī* (n.p., lithograph, 1301 AH), vol. 1, p. 148–67.

[499] *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfī* (Najaf, 1383 AH), vol. 2, pp. 206–34.

[500] *Maʿānī al-Akhbār* (n.p., Ḥaydarī, 1379 AH), pp. 74–79.

[501] *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompanī), vol. 9, pp. 242–46.

[502] *al-Irshād* (lithograph), pp. 83–85.

[503] *Iʿlām al-Warā bi Aʿlām al-Hudā* (Ḥaydarī), pp. 170–72.

[504] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb* (lithograph), vol. 1, pp. 522–23.

[505] *Dalāʾil al-Ṣidq* (Najaf: Abū Dharr Jamharī, 1372 AH), vol. 2, pp. 223–25.

[506] *Maʿānī al-Akhbār* (n.p., Ḥaydarī, 1379 AH), p. 74.

[507] *al-Irshād* (n.p., lithograph, 1285 AH), pp. 84–85. The banality of what *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 151 says is clear from what we have said above. In an effort to demonstrate the weakness of this hadith as evidence of Imam Ali's appointment as Imam, it says after quoting the Status Hadith:

> What the Rāfiḍīs and Shiʿa claim—that this hadith is explicit proof of the appointment of Ali as Caliph because of the generality of the status (*al-manzilah*) and the exception made of prophethood—is refuted because it is not authentic according to Āmidī. Even if it is conceded to be authentic, and it is authentic, because it is narrated in the two authentic hadith books (*al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*), it is like an isolated report; neither the Rāfiḍīs nor

the Shiʿa consider it to be proof of the Imamate; even if it is conceded to be probative, it does not have a general meaning. On the contrary it only means what it literally does, that within the Prophet's lifetime, and only when he was on the Tabūk expedition, Ali was left in charge of his Family, just as Aaron took Moses's place among his people during his absence from them, when he was communing with his Lord; even if [the hadith] is conceded to have a general meaning, an exception is made, and the remainder cannot then have a general meaning; alternatively, it is weak evidence because God's Messenger on other occasions left someone else instead of Ali in charge, so they too would be entitled to be Caliph.

[508] *Dalāʾil al-Ṣidq*, vol. 2, pp. 223–24.

[509] *Dalāʾil al-Ṣidq*, vol. 2, p. 224.

[510] In *Tajrīd al-Iʿtiqād*, ʿAllāmah Ṭūsī relies on this hadith as evidence of the Imam's Imamate and says:

ولحديث المنزلة المتواترة

"...and because of the indubitable Status Hadith." Qūshchī says in his commentary:

> To explain this proof we say: *Manzilah* is a genus; it is annexed, and so it has a general meaning, just the same as if it had been preceded by the definite article, as evidenced by the correctness of an exception being made to it. Even though prophethood is excluded, it is still inclusive of all of Aaron's other roles, including successor to Moses, governor in charge of regulating affairs, empowered to dispose in all public interests, and chief to whom obedience is mandatory, had [Aaron] survived Moses, because it is inappropriate for [Aaron's] elevated level—prophethood—within Moses's lifetime to be canceled out when [Aaron] died. For the Prophet expressly excluded prophethood, and [Ali] could only be the [remainder] *qua* Imam.

[Qūshchī] then proceeds to respond, with the intention of cover-up this truth with weak, incorrect reasons, including: "This narıion is an isolated report (*khabar wāḥid*) so it cannot stand up to the ɔnsensus that the three Shaykhs were Caliphs." He says at the end: "After much ado, this hadith does not disprove the three's entitlement to be leaders before Ali." It is clear from our comprehensive discussion that this hadith is not just indubitable (*mutawātir*); it surpasses indubitability. If we wanted an example of an indubitable hadith, this would be it. More laughable than all this is something

else [Qūshchī] says: "This hadith proves Ali's Governorship and Imamate, but it does not negate the Caliphate of the three preceding Caliphs because we still say that Ali was Caliph and Imam. He was just the fourth one." We also see such laughable commentary by him on the Ghadīr Hadith.

فسبحانك ما اضيق الطرق على من لم تكن دليله.

Praise be to You! How narrow the roads are to anyone to whom You are not his guide.

[511] *Maᶜānī al-Akhbār*, p. 76; *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompanī), vol. 9, p. 242, from Shaykh Ṣadūq.

[512] One of the statements made by Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī, which some believe to be evidence he was Shiᶜa, is *Faṣṣ al-Hārūniyyah* ("The Ringstone of Aaronesqueness"), in his book *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (*The Ringstones of Wisdom*). It is because he begins this "Ringstone" by saying:

فص حكمة امامية في كلمة هارونية.

"A ringstone of Imamite wisdom about an Aaronesque word." Qāḍī Nūrullāh Shūshtarī considers that to be one of the proofs that he was Shiᶜa. Mullā Sayyid Ṣāliḥ Khalkhālī, one of the cleverest students of Sayyid Hasan Jilvah Bārzīn, says in the introduction to *Sharḥ al-Manāqib al-Ithnā ᶜAshar*, which is attributed to Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī: "Making understood that this phrase evokes the Status Hadith needs detailed commentary." He then quotes the multi-sourced (*mustafiḍ*) or indeed indubitable (*mutawātir*) Status Hadith from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and from Shaykh Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, and says:

> The senior Imamite scholars (may God be pleased with all of them) hav overall derived indubitable proof from this prophetic hadith of th Imam's—the Master of the Faithful's—successorship. They say: All aspects of Aaron's status are predicated of the Imam through the generality of the status and the exception made of prophethood by virtue of this indubitable hadith. One aspect of this status was [Aaron's] being Moses's successor. Similarly, the Imam was God's Messenger immediate successor as revealed by the generality of this hadith, just as Aaron was
>
> to Moses. Sunni scholars, who have allowed themselves to extinguish the light of this proof through all the fanaticism they are branded with, say in response to this clear argument: The Imam's successorship would be predicated by this hadith's generality if the successorship were predicated of Aaron himself and this successorship would be predicated of the Imam by the generality of the status. However, Aaron was inherently a partner in prophethood to Moses, and not his successor. It is as Qūshchī has explained:

ولو سلّم فليس من منازل هارون الخلافة والتصرّف بطريق النيابة على ما هو مقتضى الإمامة، لانّه شريكٌ له في النبوّة. وقوله اخلفني ليس استخلافاً بل مبالغةً وتأكيداً في القيام بأمر القوم

And even if it is conceded, successorship and disposal as deputy—as being Imam dictates—was not part of Aaron's status, because he was [Moses's] partner in prophethood. His words *Be my successor* ([*i*]*khlufnī*) (7:142) were not an appointment of him as Caliph, but rather emphasize and stress the undertaking of the people's affairs. And as all this information has become clear, we can say as the sage Shaykh had love for Shiᶜism, he has presented to us in these words of his two glad tidings inspired by the Status Hadith: 1. He drops a hint in the apparent meaning of this expression that can, albeit not indubitably (*ᶜalā sabīl al-ẓann*), be understood to mean that the wisdom of the Imamite sect lies in the Aaronesque word embodied in the Status Hadith, in the word [*i*]*khlufnī*, "Be my successor." 2. He exposed the Aaronesque status to which he explicitly referred with the word Imamate and refuted the Sunni scholars' (*ᶜulamāʾ al-jamāᶜah*) denial of the Aaronesque successorship, which represents their belief, not minding about contradicting the Sunnis (*tilk al-jamāᶜah*).

[513] Summary of Ṣadūq, *Maᶜānī al-Akhbār*, pp. 76–78.

[514] *Iᶜlām al-Warā*, pp. 171–72.

[515] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb* (lithograph), vol. 1, p. 523.

[516] ᶜAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shīᶜah dar Islam* (n.p., n.d., 1389 AH), pp. 113–14.

[517] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 14, p. 396. Ibn Makkī Nīlī was a famous poet to the Household who was known for his self-annihilation in love for and devotion to the infallible Family; he died in 565 AH.

[518] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 386. Qāḍī Jalīs has composed these couplets as part of a twenty-couplet ode. Qāḍī Jalīs Abū al-Maᶜālī ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Ibn Husayn Ibn Ḥubāb Aghlabī (d. 561 AH); it is believed that as he was a courtier of Malik Ṭalayiᶜ Ibn Zurrayyik, he was given the title of Qāḍī Jalīs.

[519] This blessing is from Prayer 45 in *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*.

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